

OUR HISTORY

THE ASIANADIAN

AN ASIAN CANADIAN MAGAZINE
VOL. 1 NO. 2 SUMMER 1978

\$1.00





Gene Chu

GENE CHU has studied at the Ontario College of Art (1956-1960) and the Art Students' League of New York (1962-1965). He received a M.A. from Claremont Graduate School in 1968.

Born in Guangdong province in China, Gene who is a Canadian citizen has given one-man shows at The Medical Centre Art Gallery, McMaster University (1976) and the Woodlands Branch Library of Mississauga, Ontario (1976) among others.

His numerous group shows include those at the Chelsea School of Art, London (1975), *Four Canadian Printmakers 1976 Invitational Print Show*, Ellensburg, Washington (1976), and the *1st Japan-Canada Print Exhibition* at the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, Don Mills, Ontario (1977).

He has shown in such competitive exhibitions as those at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (1971), the Tom Thompson Memorial Gallery and Museum of Fine Arts (1972), the *25th Boston Printmakers Anniversary Exhibition*, Decordova Museum, Lincoln, Mass. (1973), the *Fourth British International Print Biennale*, Bradford, England (1974), the *3rd Annual Exhibition of Canadian Prints and Drawings*, Art Gallery of Brant, Brantford, Ontario (1975), the Saidye Bronfman Centre, Montreal (1976), and the *38th Western Ontario Exhibition*, London, Ontario (1978), among others.

His many awards include the Government of France Medal in Painting (1960), First Prize for *The Crown of Thorns*, Tom Thompson Gallery and Museum of Fine Art, (1972), Editions Award, Graphex 3, 3rd Annual Juried Exhibition of Canadian Prints for *The Hero* (1975), and Best Graphics in the 104 Ontario Society of Artists Open Juried Annual Exhibition for *The Remnants* (1976).

Gene is now an Associate Professor at the University of Guelph teaching printmaking and drawing.

His "CAPTIVITY" is a woodcut with photo-engraving completed in 1976. This work is an example of Gene's concern for the stark realities of life.

next issue

THE FALL ISSUE, 1978, VOLUME 1, Number 3
will focus on:

THE EXPERIENCE OF ASIAN CANADIAN WOMEN

Don't miss this important issue,
subscribe now.



Subscription Form
on page 25.

We welcome submission of articles,
essays, poetry, short stories, art
work, by and/or about Asian
Canadian women.

THE ASIANADIAN

Subscription Rates

Canada: 1 year \$4.00
\$6.00 (institutions)
2 years \$7.00

U.S.A.: add \$1.50 per year

Overseas: 1 year \$5.50
1 year \$8.00 (air mail)

Please send cheque or money order.

Advertising rates available on request.

Bulk rate available on request.

Contents

Vol.1 No.2 Summer '78

	2	EDITORIAL
Roy Ito	3	THE ARRIVAL OF MANKICHI OMURA
Ph. Le	7	THE VIETNAMESE: AN OVERLOOKED MINORITY
Lao Bo	11	HOSTAGES IN CANADA: TORONTO'S CHINESE (1880-1947)
Gao Wenxiong	15	HAMILTON: THE CHINATOWN THAT DIED

FEATURES

19	FACE TO FACE: WITH JAG BHADAURIA
23	WE'RE JUST CHILDREN
24	COMMUNITY NEWS
25	DUBIOUS AWARD
26	ASIANADIAN SUBWAY CROSSWORD
27	REVIEWS
30	POETRY
34	ON THE FIRING LINE
35	LETTERS

Front Cover: *CAPTIVITY* by Gene Chu

The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine is published quarterly by the Asianadian Resource Workshop, P.O. Box 1256, Station Q, Toronto, Ontario M4T 2P4, Canada. Copyright © 1978. All rights reserved. Contents may not be reprinted without prior written permission.

We welcome submission of critical articles, community essays, poetry, art work, excerpts from novels and short stories, and reviews concerning the Asian experience in Canada as well as letters to the editors or writers about already published materials. Manuscripts will be returned only if accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope. The opinions expressed by the contributors are not necessarily those of the Board of Editors. *The Asianadian* is abstracted in *Canadian Information Sharing Service* and *Newsletter* of the Cross Cultural Communication Centre. Bulk rates are available on request.

The Asianadian collective consists of: Lau Bo (*Editor this issue*), A. Hwong (*Art Director*), Anthony Chan, Connie Chan, Sandy Jew, Helen Koyama, Cheuk Kwan, Lai Sili, Momoye Sugiman, Nancy Tong and Lily Wong.

editorial

Gut History! What is it? It is history from the inside out. The history of Asians in Canada has been written from the outside in--funded by the Secretary of State or done by academics--for "academic" interest. What about the history of Asians by Asians? What about the history of individuals? History that after all is experience -- the experience of thousands of people who struggle to survive in a society that often sees them as invisible. They get told about as if they were living in a very cute movie with a happy ending --- and now we are all "new Canadians".

In this issue *The Asianadian* presents a new version of this history - history that talks from the inside out -- with guts. An Asian gut history written either by people who lived through it or those who are living it today. We struggle for more than getting a pat on the head from 'ethnic' historians or similar 'objective' people. Their style of history presents only half of the story. Many people want to hear platitudes; they say that to talk about the bad past or today's problems is too negative. But gut history makes the invisible visible.

Take the case of the Vietnamese for instance, another invisible ethnic group in the Canadian mosaic -- in this issue a Vietnamese describes his own community from the inside out with both the problems and the positive sides, and with a bit more depth than the 'native food and dance' approach approved by supporters of multiculturalism. Gut history demands more than a one-sided view.

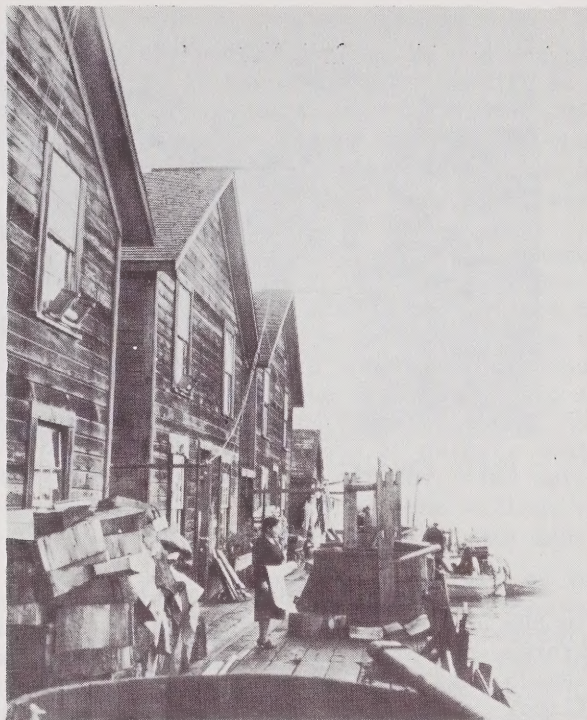
Take another case, that of Mankichi Omura. Gut history is also blood and guts, lived by people who often shed blood for this country and got their reward--insults, internment and the sure knowledge pounded into them that they would "never make good Canadian citizens" because they were not quite right for a white Canada. But Mankichi Omura stayed and bled here along with everyone else. Despite Mackenzie King he stayed and lived gut history.

So gut history is individual history. It is also the story of groups as well, groups that are always written about, but

not from the perspective of those inside the community. Two articles, one on the Hamilton Chinese and the other on the Toronto Chinese community show what happened to two groups whose history has been glossed over--after all they are now new Canadians! But how the Chinese community developed says a lot about where they are going, and in covering events from the 1880's to the 1940's a layer of skin is peeled away so that deep-rooted problems emerge. The "boss" of Chinatown--the spokesman for the community--is this a good thing or a bad thing? It is hard to say, but the evidence given in these articles shows that that period of time was far from peaceful. And the part played by local governments in all of this--can municipal and federal governments simply pretend this did not happen and continue to tacitly support vested interests? Gut history exposes the deep, hidden economic exploitation of the poor by politically connected and wealthy men, especially the Nationalist Party (KMT) in Toronto during the 1930's. Gut history bites deep, gets behind the stereotypes and tries to give an account from the inside out. This is not "objective" many may say--but it is the people's history.

We must learn from our history and look toward the future. What lies ahead? Jag Bhaduria, executive director of the Canadian Council for Racial Harmony speaks out bluntly in *Face to Face* about the past and the future of race relations in Canada. He also looks at what we can learn from the French Canadians in Quebec.

By dealing with the past on many different levels, this issue of *The Asianadian* hopes to begin two processes: first, the asking of questions that need to be asked in order to fill in gaps in our understanding of our collective and individual past; and second, to encourage more people to get involved in writing their own history in order to further our own creativity and thus contribute our unique perspectives to Canadian society. If this society is to be a harmonious one, then we must know where we came from. As one writer put it, "...only when you know where you came from can you know where you are going...."



In Japan in the province of Fukuoka-ken Mankichi Omura worked hard in his father's field. It was 1908 and Mankichi was seventeen years old. As he worked he thought about the stories he had heard the night before. A Japanese who had just come back from Canada spoke about the wonders of a place called British Columbia. Salmon by the thousands came swarming into the river mounts; giant trees were chopped down to make lumber; there was plenty of land. Everyone had a chance to make money.

Mankichi thought of his prospects in Japan. It was difficult to make a comfortable living. Why not go to Canada, get a good job and return to Japan within five years with plenty of money? He decided to borrow money for his fare.

Before he left the village his parents and friends gave him a party. They urged him to eat plenty of Japanese food, saying, "You won't get these in Canada." Each wished him well, and expected him back soon as a rich man. "*Hayaku kokyo ni nishiki kazare,*" they said, which meant "Come back as soon as possible in your golden clothes."

After a long voyage of eighteen days the ship docked in Vancouver. It was September 1908. Mankichi paid the entry fee of \$25 and landed in Canada. All his belongings were in his *yanagi kori*, a small wicker

THE ARRIVAL OF MANKICHI OMURA

by ROY ITO

basket. He was met by people from Fukuoka-ken, his home province. They found him a place to stay on Powell Street, where many Japanese lived and owned stores. A man who came from the same village found him a job at Hastings Mill. Soon Mankichi was piling lumber and earning \$1.30 per day. It was hard work but he didn't mind.

He lived in a small room in a rooming house on Powell Street. The food was simple but plentiful, and it was all cooked in the Japanese way. He didn't spend money foolishly as his aim was to save. In his spare time he liked to watch a Japanese baseball team or go fishing in Burrard Inlet. Sometimes he walked to Stanley Park. But it was a lonely life.

Mankichi wanted to learn English and after a hard day's work he went to the Japanese Mission of the Methodist Church. Often he was too tired to stay awake, but he learned enough from the patient teachers to talk a little English.

Mankichi earned good money compared to wages in Japan, but he could see he wouldn't become a rich man quickly. Most of the Japanese worked in sawmills, in mines, and on the railway. Others had small farms. Mankichi heard that in fishing it was possible to earn a large sum in a good year. He spoke to the people of the Fukuoka-ken Society and it was arranged that he would go to the Skeena River to be a fisherman.

FISHING ON THE SKEENA

Towed by a gas-engine powered boat, the line of fishing skiffs headed downstream toward the mouth of the Skeena River. Mankichi sat in one of the leading boats. He was the helper of Matasaburo Yonemura, who had been fishing on the Skeena out of Port Eslington for twelve years.

As they neared the fishing area, the skiffs broke away from the towboat. The men rowed to what they hoped was a good location. The river was now filled with white, Indian, and Japanese fishermen watching for the signal that would begin the fishing

Excerpted from *The Japanese Canadians* by Roy Ito. Copyright (c) 1978 by Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., Toronto.

week. Promptly at 6 P.M. the gun boomed.

Yonemura threw the wooden buoy with a flag marker into the river. Then he pushed the gill net into the river while Mankichi rowed steadily. Mankichi kept his eyes on the buoy and the cork line to make sure he was rowing in a straight line. When the 400-metre net was safely in, they sat down to watch. It was not long before Yonemura pointed to a bobbing cork. "A sockeye," he said. There was a splash further down the line; a fish was caught near the surface. A cork disappeared completely. "A spring salmon," Yonemura said.

They unhitched the net and rowed to the place where the cork had vanished. Yonemura leaned over and slowly pulled up the mesh. The gaffing hook was ready in his right hand. He gently lowered the hook and triumphantly brought up a huge fish. It was silver blue, and over a metre long. Yonemura made a small cut in the tail. The flesh was red. A red spring salmon was worth five times more than a white spring salmon.

After three hours of drifting with the tide, they brought in their net, Mankichi hauling it in, and Yonemura working the oars. They had caught 26 sockeye, three springs, and one small jack salmon. It was a good start to the season.

They worked hard all summer. Yonemura taught Mankichi all he knew about boathandling, river currents, tides, and fishing. Day and night they put out the net, sleeping when they could. Their boat had no shelter except for a small tent. On rainy days they were cold and wet. Other days the water was rough and the work harder.

The collector boat from the canning company came around once a day to take the fish. They learned the latest news from the crew. Yonemura, usually a man of few words, became quite angry when he talked of how Japanese fishermen were treated. Other fishermen were free to move from the Skeena to the Nass River, or to Rivers Inlet, or to the Fraser. Not so the Japanese. Their licences kept them in one area. There was nothing they could do about it, as the Japanese in British Columbia were not allowed to vote. Yonemura intended to make Canada his home and get the vote.

At the end of the fishing season, Mankichi returned to Vancouver to the rooming house on Powell Street. His summer earnings came to \$325. Each summer he went north to the Skeena and fished. Each fall he returned to Vancouver. For two years he partnered with Yonemura, and in the third year he obtained his own licence. He rented a boat and a net from the cannery and went to work for himself.



Photo credit: Public Archives of Canada

SOME HAD JAPANESE NAMES

In December, 1915, Mankichi saw an item in the Japanese language newspaper. War had broken out in Europe earlier in 1914, and Canada had followed Britain into the conflict. The Canadian Japanese Association was asking for volunteers to serve in the Canadian Army. By fighting for their new country, Japanese immigrants could show that they were Canadians. Mankichi thought about this. He knew now that he would not be going back to Japan as a richman. His future was in Canada. As a Canadian he had to carry out his responsibilities. Mankichi decided to volunteer...

With 56 Japanese volunteers, all from British Columbia, Mankichi enlisted in the 175th Overseas Battalion in Medicine Hat, Alberta. After training they left for Europe on September 6, 1916. From the Seaford Army Base in England the Japanese soldiers were sent to France to join the 50th Battalion of the Canadian Fourth Division.

The Canadian Army spent the winter of 1916 to 1917 getting ready to attack Vimy Ridge. This was a low height of land, about 11 kilometres long. The French had already tried to capture the Ridge with the loss of a great many men. One day the Battalion formed a square and a senior officer spoke to the men. He told them that they would be going into battle soon. For the first time, Canadians would fight as an army. The volunteers, he said, all represented Canada. The Japanese heard this with pride. They were called Canadians for the first time...

PICTURE BRIDE

Mankichi Omura returned from service in the army in 1919, and settled down in Port Essington. He rented a house next door to Yonemura. It was eleven years since he had left his parents' home in Fukuoka-ken.

Mankichi needed a wife. He did not have the money to go back to Japan himself, so he asked his parents to find him a bride. They chose a young woman, named Oya, from a good, hard-working family. Oya's parents sent her photograph to Mankichi. He studied it carefully. She seemed satisfactory.

Mankichi borrowed a camera and Yonemura took a picture of him in his work clothes in front of his boat. He didn't want Oya to get the wrong ideas. Some men sent pictures taken when they were much younger, or in borrowed clothes. He mailed Oya the picture and a letter asking her to marry him. Oya agreed, and with both sets of parents visited the village registry office. The marriage was noted in the *Koseki*, the village records.

The ship Oya sailed on docked at Vancouver in spring, 1920, after a two-week voyage. She was very tired and bewildered. On the ship she had eaten strange food with metal utensils. She thought the white people were terribly big. Now she would have to wear western clothes for the first time. Mankichi tried to be kind and thoughtful. He took her to his friends who owned the rooming house on Powell Street. From there they were married in a Buddhist church.

On the ship going to Port Essington, Mankichi told Oya how Yoshizawa and Aikawa had rowed from Vancouver to the Skeena. He spoke to her of Yonemura and the life of a salmon fisherman. He described Port Essington and their house. It had three rooms, and a kitchen with a wood stove and running water. There was no electricity but there were bright kerosene lamps. He had bought her a sewing machine, and they had good strong furniture.

When the ship reached Port Essington, Yonemura and their other neighbours were at the cannery wharf to welcome Oya Omura to her new home in Canada.

FISHING LICENCES

With the money from his army service Mankichi bought a boat and a net. Now he was a full-time fisherman. In April he fished for spring salmon. The sockeye season started in July, and the fishing community bustled with men returned to their homes in Vancouver. Mankichi fished into the cold days of October. Then he hauled in his boat and net, and spent the winter repairing his equipment. He cut firewood to keep their house warm. In his spare time he caught up on his sleep, and read Japanese newspapers and magazines. It was a good life.

But there were moments when he talked to Yonemura that made him uneasy. When, Yonemura often asked, would the Japanese be allowed to vote? Even the veterans of the war did not have this right. They were going to need some kind of voice, because the white people were saying that there were too many Japanese fishermen. A government commission had been set up to look into the question of Japanese fishing licences. Yonemura said some whites wanted to stop all the Japanese fishing. Mankichi did not believe him. He had lived and fought with the white people, and when he told the Japanese fishermen not to worry, they believed him.

In August, 1922, the commission visited Port Essington. The Japanese were ready to present their case. But only the white and native Indian fishermen were called to appear before the commission. The commission had twelve meetings in different places, but not one Japanese was invited.

Yonemura said, "There are six members on the commission. Four are members of Parliament from the salmon-fishing areas. They don't want to hear from us because we do not have the vote." Mankichi could not believe this. Most of the Japanese had taken out Canadian citizenship. Surely their living would not be taken away.

In the following spring, the cannery manager called the Japanese fishermen together. He looked unhappy. "I have bad news," he said. "Japanese fishing licences are to be cut by 40 per cent. It means 120 of you will no longer be able to fish at Port Essington."

There were angry speeches but it was futile. Some of the men sneered at Mankichi: "That's the kind of government you fought for!" They decided that the single men would lose their licences, and a special fund was raised to help them. But this was only the beginning. In 1925, the government ordered another 15 per cent cut and 28 men lost their licences. The men with the least number of years volunteered to be cut. In the



RESERVATIONS/ 366-2164
seven days a week

460 Dundas St. W. / Toronto



Photo credit: Japanese Cultural Centre

following two years 30 more licences were lost. Men able to find other work went south. There was great fear in the Japanese fishing community.

The fishermen hired a lawyer to present their case to the Supreme Court of Canada. For the first time in many years there was rejoicing amongst the Japanese in Port Essington. The court ruled that the cuts were unlawful. Any British subject had the right to receive a fishing licence. The government appealed the case to the Privy Council in London, England. The Privy Council agreed with the Supreme Court of Canada--to deny a licence because of a man's origin was unlawful. It was discrimination.

But in 1929 the Government of Canada passed a new law. The Minister of Fisheries was given the right to deny licences to anyone. The Japanese were bewildered. There seemed to be no justice.

Mankichi grew bitter and angry. As the towboat pulled the Japanese crafts down the river, he watched the white and Indian fishermen go by in their boats powered by gas engines. Japanese fishermen were not allowed to use engines! The more he thought of it, the angrier he became. The next week he had

a gas engine placed in his boat. Yonemura begged him not to do it. "They will take away your licence," he said.

It had to happen. Mankichi watched the fishing patrol boat approach as he went down the river, the gas engine *put-putting* loudly. He saw Stan Polesena, the Fisheries Officer who had also served in the 50th Battalion, watching him through his binoculars. He waved to Mankichi; the fishing patrol boat turned abruptly and headed away. Mankichi had mixed feelings.

A final protest was made by the Japanese fishermen in 1931. This time they were supported by white fishermen, cannery owners and other citizens. They all said the same thing--that the treatment of the Japanese fishermen was unnecessary, unjust, inhuman, and unwise. The government made no further moves against the Japanese. In the ten years between 1921 and 1931, 935 Japanese fishermen had lost their licences.

In the same year, 1931, Mankichi and the other Japanese veterans finally got the right to vote.

Roy Ito teaches elementary school at the Glen Echo school in Hamilton.

The Vietnamese: An Overlooked Minority

by Ph. Le

Throughout the tumultuous decade of the United States' involvement in the Vietnamese war, the people of Vietnam became a familiar sight on our television screens. However, as a Canadian minority group their existence has often been overlooked, since their numbers are relatively small (8,000) and they are too scattered in metropolises such as Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver to form vocal--or visible communities.

The first Vietnamese arrived in Canada about 20 years ago. Speaking fluent French, many of them came on Canadian government scholarships to study at universities in Quebec. During the late sixties and early seventies these Vietnamese students, like thousands of other students across Canada, were actively involved in the anti-war movement. In 1970 the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada was established by a small group of students dedicated to the struggle for peace and the revolutionary cause of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam. Led by McGill University graduate Luong Chau Phuoc and Nguyen Van Nha, founder of Canada's first Vietnamese periodicals (*The-He* and *Tien-Phong*), this association represented the first organized group of politically motivated Vietnamese in this country.

Young university students did not comprise the entire population of Vietnamese in Canada during the late sixties and early seventies. Several well educated Vietnamese officials and military officers, who were sent to the United States and Europe for training, decided not to return home as the political climate of Saigon was becoming increasingly disillusioning. They did not intend to support what they considered to be a hopeless war. One of these, Dr. Ng M. Sang, an army captain dentist studying advanced dentistry in the United States stated that when he was ordered back by the South Vietnamese government he *just refused*. Another outspoken Vietnamese was L. Phuc, an administrator studying political science at the University of Kansas: "In the U.S. I began to have access to various sources of information," he said, "and I became convinced that the American policy would be doomed to failure and that the corrupt Saigon government, which in no way represented the South

Vietnamese people, would eventually collapse. By spring 1968, I knew I would not go back." Like many others, Sang and Phuc chose to come to Canada and obtain landed immigrant status.

In two decades the number of Vietnamese with student visas and/or landed immigrant status amounted to no more than 1,500. And because this minority was essentially comprised of highly educated, North American-trained Vietnamese, they were fairly successful in securing good positions as professors, dentists, engineers and technologists. This picture was radically altered in April 1975 with the long-awaited collapse of the Saigon government, resulting in a sudden influx of Vietnamese refugees to Canada. From April 1975 to January 1976 more than 6,500 refugees entered this country. Approximately two-thirds of them arrived under the sponsorship of relatives in Canada under the Canadian government's refugee relief programme, while the remaining one-third were recruited through a point system set up by Canadian Immigration. These refugees were not all from the professional classes. Many of them were soldiers and labourers. Representing a wide range of age groups and religions, they brought a more diversified composition to the Vietnamese minority in Canada.

Overnight the newly-arrived Vietnamese found themselves plunged into a completely foreign environment. Their culture shock was particularly profound as it was accentuated by their sense of humiliating loss when fleeing their war-torn homeland. One of the refugees, Toan Le, previously a deputy mayor in South Vietnam, complains that for months he suffered from a sense of suspense, loss and loneliness. "There is no problem for us to make a living in Canada, my children now have jobs. I have close relatives in Toronto and several friends among the refugees," he explained, "but I always have uncomfortable and lonely feelings which I had never experienced at home."

Homesickness did not constitute the only hardship of the new immigrants. They were also faced with problems concerning language, housing, schooling, the change in climate and particularly employment. Because of their lack of North American educa-

tion and experience, many professionals had difficulty in securing jobs at the level to which they were accustomed. Many medical doctors, for example, were forced to accept positions as janitors and hospital orderlies while waiting to establish themselves. A refugee woman dentist, Anh-Tuyet of Quebec, typically describes the situation: "The Quebec Order of Dentists is a very tightly closed one. They have no special conversion courses for immigrant dentists and they won't let me start lower down as an undergraduate because I am already fully qualified. The only option is a series of very stiff professional examinations with a fee for each stage of \$1,200 to \$1,500 and we just don't have the money."

For those who did not have a professional background, accepting a low status job was perhaps psychologically easier. Toan My, a junior at a private college in Saigon, and his brother, Hoan Hao, a high school student, quickly got jobs at a mushroom farm in New Market, Ontario at \$2.50 per hour, the minimum wage at that time. Later My found another job with a food company and Hao with a furniture factory in Toronto at \$3.50 per hour. Not all the refugees were as fortunate as these young brothers. Old people, for example, suffered considerable difficulty in the area of employment as they were not only the victims of age discrimination but also of their inability to grasp the English language.

The Vietnamese refugees in Canada were not only drawn together through homesickness and problems of cultural adjustment, but also through their common bitterness towards the new socialist regime at home. This reaction is understandable for most of them belonged to the now obliterated privileged classes. Living in the fanatically anti-communist atmosphere of Saigon before the fall, where they were accustomed to private enterprise, consumerism and the capitalistic American influence, they were unwilling to experience the new austere, self-sacrificing and highly indoctrinated socialist lifestyle

of post-war South Vietnam.

Together with other previously pro-Saigon or politically indifferent Vietnamese who had already been established in Canada, the new refugees formed loosely-organized local Vietnamese fraternal associations in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. Ngo Honah, president of the Toronto Vietnamese Fraternal Association, describes his association as a non-political, social organization designed to help the refugees adjust to a new society. One of its first activities was a celebration for the lunar new year in January 1976 at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. During this evening the lost culture of the Saigon 'bourgeoisie' was superficially revived through music, poetry and dramatic presentations.

Towards the other end of the political spectrum, those who support the new Socialist Vietnam belong to the Union of Vietnamese in Canada, a Montreal based group (formerly called Association of the Vietnamese Patriots in Canada) with branches in Toronto, Ottawa and Quebec City. Politically motivated, the Union of Vietnamese in Canada plays an important role in reporting new events and developments in Vietnam to all Vietnamese in Canada through its official organ: the semi-monthly *Dat-Viet* (*Land of Vietnam*), formerly *Tien-Phong* (*The Vanguard*) and through several speaking tours of its members who have made recent visits to Vietnam. The Union aims at unifying the Vietnamese in this country and mobilizing their efforts towards the task of healing the war wounds and reconstruction of Vietnam. The political ideological split thus emerges in the Vietnamese 'community' between those pro and against the new regime at home. Before the Vietnamese Embassy was established in Ottawa, the Union acted as a go-between for the Vietnamese in Canada and the Embassy of Vietnam in France in matters concerning consular services. Every year the Union organizes summer and winter camps offering all Vietnamese a wide range of activities from political discussions and cultural perform-



strike! LUNCH?

JAPANESE FOODS

SANKO

221 SPADINA AVE. TORONTO TEL. 862-1082

ances to sports and recreation. On such occasions as Tet (Vietnamese New Year), Christmas and the anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, the Union and its branches present exhibitions and performances with historic and revolutionary themes illustrating the cultural characteristics of Vietnam. In addition, the Union directs its energies towards the promotion of understanding between Canada and Vietnam and enlists Canadian support for the rebuilding of Vietnam. For this purpose it has published two newsletters: *Nouvelles du Vietnam* in French and *Vietnam Report* in English.

Political ideology has apparently determined the relationships between the Vietnamese and other Canadian groups, as the Union of Vietnamese in Canada has developed close relations with the Canadian Friend Service Committee (Canadian Quakers), Canadian Aid for Vietnam Civilians Committee, Canadian Peace Congress, Development Education Centre and the International Communists. For years these Canadian organizations have been dedicated to the peace movement, mobilizing private efforts to contribute millions of dollars in aid to Vietnam during and after the war. The Vietnamese Fraternal Associations, on the other hand, have established more contact with the Canadian government and several Catholic and Protestant churches particularly on matters involving refugees and the adoption of Vietnamese orphans.

Another impact of the arrival of the refugees is the emotional stress and strain which arises as a result of various cultural political and generational gaps between the refugees and their relatives who sponsored them. A Vietnamese driving instructor who has been in Canada for eight years, now reunited with his father, explains: "My father still has a concept of a grand family in the Vietnamese society of thirty years ago. Yet he expects me to obey every word of his moral teaching without questions. It is fortunate that I haven't got married, otherwise my marriage would be wrecked because of this." On the other side of the gap, comments often made by the newly arrived parents about their Canadianized children include complaints that they are 'too individualistic', or that they have 'lost their roots' and are 'now converted Communists who no longer bother with relatives.'

Despite all the tensions, the family tie is still a close and strong one. If often quarrelling, the Vietnamese attempt to make peaceful compromises within the family. And, although the Vietnamese women are becoming less submissive, they still tend to maintain traditional role patterns by accepting the status of 'the second among equals'. As far as marriage between Vietnamese is concerned, divorce is extremely rare since the honour of the family is often placed above the individual's interest or happiness. This is a concept which has been

JADE TRAVEL LTD

208-210 Spadina Avenue,
Suite 109, Toronto,
Ontario, Canada,
M5T 2W3.

翡翠旅行社



(416) 368-1721

見其名而知其義

翡翠旅遊最寫意

Charter flights, Tours, Hotels and Car Rentals

Inclusive fly & cruise holidays from Toronto

and

Air Tickets

Most major credit cards accepted for purchase of air tickets only

reflected in the way the Vietnamese names are written, as the family name always comes first, followed by the given name.

In the midst of Canadian society a typical Vietnamese still demonstrates a reverence for the old and a strong sense of filial gratitude. In each Vietnamese home on the anniversary of an ancestor's death, one can usually find a simple altar with the pictures of deceased ancestors set up along with incense, candles and flowers. And in the belief that the ancestor's spirit is always around to support and guide the family, a memorial service also constitutes an important part of this tradition. Thus a home for a Vietnamese in Canada is still a place for worshipping, not only the family ancestors but also Buddha or Jesus Christ. Because religion plays such a significant role in their lives, the Vietnamese immigrants began establishing religious associations soon after their arrival. Most of the older generation joined the Vietnamese Buddhist associations that have held celebrations throughout the year in honour of Buddha's birthday, Vu-lan Day etc. On these occasions some of Vietnamese Buddhist leaders from the United States were invited to attend to lead prayers and deliver sermons. Vietnamese followers of Christianity also came together, usually meeting at Catholic and Protestant Churches in their neighbourhoods.

Another cultural tradition which the Vietnamese have maintained is the time-consuming and artful preparation of 'homemade' Vietnamese food. In the combination of meat and vegetables, the Vietnamese food can be likened to Chinese food. Its one distinctive characteristic, however, is the fact that it requires less use of fat and more of raw vegetables. Fortunately, the Vietnamese in Canada can find all necessary ingredients including the essential fish sauce, in the Chinatowns of every major city. One of the most popular Vietnamese dishes is 'cha-gio', a roll of meat, shrimp, crab, bean thread, and mushroom wrapped with rice paper and deep fried. Another favourite is barbecued pork strongly flavoured with spices and sauces and served with boiled rice noodles. One of the most widely appreciated soups is 'pho', a rice noodle soup served with fine rare beef or shredded chicken. For special occasions like Tet (Vietnamese New Year), there are square green sticky rice cakes stuffed with meat, mashed green beans and pork sausage.

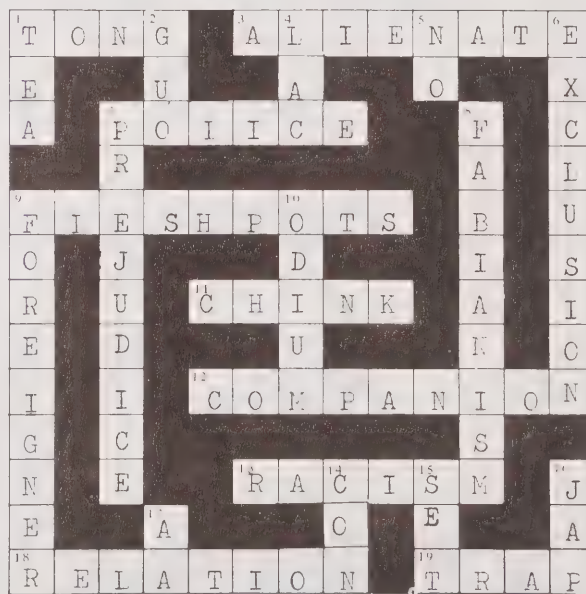
The Vietnamese have already made some steps towards building a 'community' in Canada and they share many plans for the future. Widely agreed upon is the need for a Vietnamese radio or television program, Vietnamese language training for children,

stores for imported merchandise from Vietnam and a cultural centre where cultural performances, exhibitions and social gatherings could be held. Because of their relatively small numbers and limited resources, the Vietnamese realize that it will take a long time for all of these dreams to materialize. While they work towards establishing a distinctive 'community' they can gain strength and a sense of solidarity not only from their newspapers and various fraternal, religious and socio-political associations, but also through their strongly tied family units. Despite their willingness to 'adapt' to the dominant Canadian lifestyle and value system, the Vietnamese, like all other ethnic minorities in this country, want to preserve their own way of life.

This article was originally published by the Emergency Librarian magazine in May-June 1976. Reprinted by permission of the Author.

Ph. Le is a Vietnamese presently residing in Toronto.

spring solution



Hostages in Canada: Toronto's Chinese (1880-1947)

by LAO BO

In 1941 Liu Ai-yu was brought to trial in Chinatown through private reports that he had slandered the then unofficial-'mayor' of Toronto's Chinese community, Chiang Tzu-t'ien. The trial was set for the 12th of May of that year, and an investigation team was sent out to 'arrest' him and bring him in. He did not want to come in, and began to swear at them and fought with them, injuring one of them. But finally, they succeeded in tying him up and brought him into Chinatown.

Another case again involving an attack on the 'mayor' of Chinatown took place in the next month. This time the man who attacked him did so physically and then ran away. Chiang's power was so great that he was able to keep all Chinese Tongs and other organizations from giving aid to the fugitive. He was able to banish anyone who raised a hand or a voice against him from the community, have that person's family's land confiscated in China, lose his job, and even get the Toronto police and courts to throw an offender in jail.

By creating what was in effect a colony within Canadian society, one group was able to gain total control and crush all opposition. In doing this, a whole community was kept dependent upon the political, economic and social influence wielded by no more than forty men. How could this much power fall into the hands of one group? To find this out, one has to go back to the beginning.

Early on in Toronto there was no Chinatown. Instead, Chinese immigrants lived all over the city. The earliest mention of Chinese in the city is around 1877 to 1878 in laundries on Yonge and Gerrard Streets. Labourers drifting into the city after their work building the Canadian Pacific Railroad had no skills other than their labour, with owning land an impossibility. Thus, most stayed in the city as migrant workers. Many opened businesses such as laundries that did not need much capital.

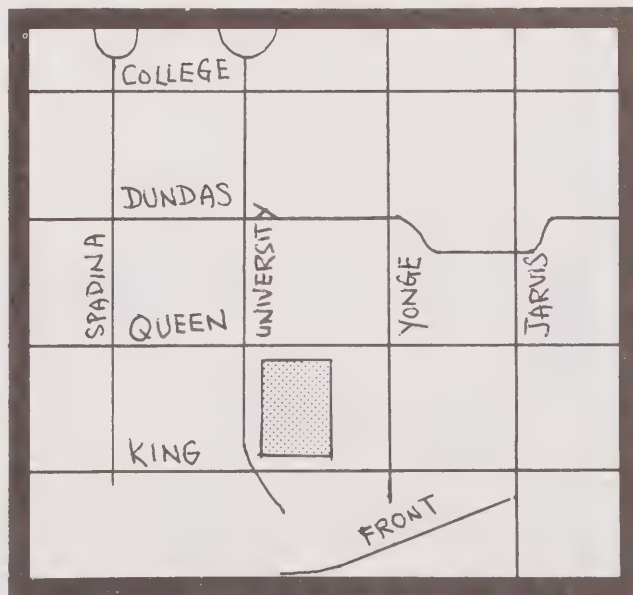
There were ten Chinese recorded officially in Toronto by 1881, but it was not until 1900 that a pattern of settlement took shape. As the Jewish businesses moved north from the area around Parliament and Yonge along Queen, Chinese businesses began to

take their place. This was the first 'Chinatown'. It was centrally located near the commercial centre of the city. It made sense to do business there. Toronto grew up *around* the Chinese.

By 1911 the total number of Chinese had jumped to 1,031 out of a city population of about 130,000. The number of small businesses, primarily laundries, jumped to 228. Where they gathered, they also brought with them their athletic societies, restaurants, credit associations and secret societies, just like any other immigrants.

In this case there was at least one secret society--the Freemasons (Hung Men) that was in the city records from 1906. It probably existed earlier, but not formally. The fact that city records made mention of it indicates that it was pretty big. It primarily attracted working-class people by giving them aid against attacks by whites, acting as a community policeman, arbitrating arguments, providing money for those who were broke, providing a place to sleep, and so forth. It was an important part of the life of single men who could not speak English well, did not know the customs and who were often exploited.

However, due to events occurring in China and the influx of a middle-class of



CHINESE COMMUNITY 1900'S

small merchants who opened up their own stores, the Freemasons began to change after 1911. One reason was the Revolution of 1911 and the overthrow of the Ch'ing Dynasty by the T'ung Meng Hui, another secret society. Since it had opened a branch first in Victoria and Vancouver and then later in Toronto in 1911, it tried to unify all other groups under it. However, it was not completely successful. Working-class labourers refused to be put under its thumb and fought back.

Why did the T'ung Meng Hui want to control what was essentially a working-man's organization? The primary reason was economic. Since the Freemasons were fairly wealthy due to contributions from their members who were greater in number than the T'ung Meng Hui-- it was a big prize. Prior to 1911, they contributed more than \$10,000 to the Chinese Revolution--a lot of money in those days! The second reason was political. By taking over all other groups in the community including Tongs and secret societies, they could be considered the 'voice' for all Chinese in Canada. This would give them power in Ottawa, B.C., and in Toronto. After all, the Toronto city government never understood the customs of the Chinese and could much more easily use Chinese to control Chinese. In this way it would not have to try to understand the community as a group of individuals, but rather as simply 'the Chinese'.

The T'ung Meng Hui in 1917 changed its name to the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and became registered as a political party in Ontario in 1919. This gave it a high profile both inside the community and in Canadian society at large. By becoming the Canadian branch of a Chinese political party, it could claim legitimate leadership over all the Chinese communities in Canada. This also gave it a connection with the newly set up embassy of the Nationalist Chinese government in Ottawa. After the first settling in the area bounded by Parliament and Queen Streets as far as Yonge, the community moved further west to Bay Street near the old city hall where there was a large market district. It was this area that was to become known as Chinatown from 1915 to 1936.

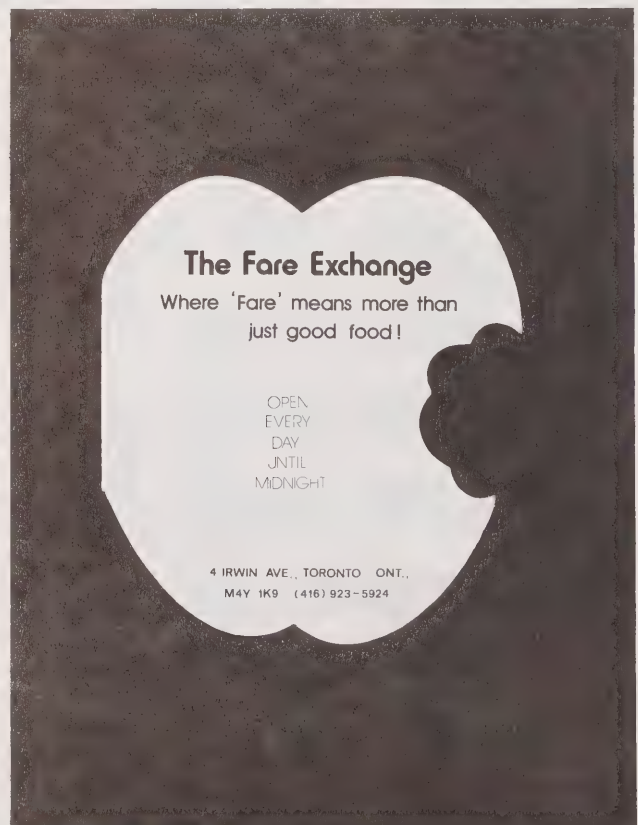
The population had reached nearly the two thousand mark with single males in the majority. They had few diversions. Caring for their needs were the numerous small associations (known to outsiders as 'Tong'); the schools, dramatic societies, and athletic associations; and finally the recreational groups.

Another part of this organizational network which was destined to be more important than the smaller associations was the political groups-- on one side the KMT and on the other the Tongs and the Chinese Free-

masons. Fighting broke out between the two sides over money coming in from gambling operations run by the Tongs. Any number up to twenty games of *p'ai gao*, *fantan*, or other games were on in a single week. Often, those who had gambler's fever would bet their businesses and as much as \$10,000 could change hands. Thus the stakes for whoever controlled them were high.

Because the Freemasons had broken away from the KMT earlier due to events in China, internecine warfare between the two was the order of the day in Toronto. The struggle was over control of people and resources that the KMT had come to regard as its own chattel. Between 1929 and 1930, rumors of Tong wars hit the English language newspapers. What the KMT did was to close gambling games thereby cutting the monetary lifeline of the Tongs and the Freemasons. They resorted to calling in outside help-- they got the Toronto police to do their dirty work for them. The police were only too happy to raid illegal gambling games and this meant that at its height, as many as ninety raids were carried on in one month.

Tactics like these provoked a response, and the Tongs and Freemasons were not slow in attempting to fight back. They apparently called in hired boxers from Vancouver and elsewhere to beat up those KMT members who revealed the whereabouts of gambling to the police. What happened after the late 1920's is not well known to outsiders.



The KMT were very successful in bringing renegades to heel. The threat posed by forces outside of the Chinese community made it a losing cause for those with no political influence. In any case, the destruction of their gambling revenue forced the smaller Tongs and locality associations to give in. At the least, a truce was called to stop the fighting.

The onset of the Depression made money important, and more so for those out of work. The 1930's were hard times for all and the Chinese community was no exception. But so well managed were the funds available to the community that only fifty Chinese out of a total of 2,000 applied for relief from 1931 to 1934. The local associations took care of their own members. Few other groups in Canada could claim this.

As China went, so did the Chinese community in Toronto. During the period from 1926 to 1937, the KMT became the preeminent political group in China. It became recognised by the Canadian Government and after 1941 it used its diplomatic recognition to secure leadership status in the overseas Chinese community throughout the country. In Toronto, this took the form of a political party that operated openly in Chinatown and use leverage to bring other groups into line.

With few exceptions, all of Chinatown was in the hands of the KMT after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The war years were spent by the leadership of KMT in consolidating its position. They bought real estate from the Tongs and other groups, registered the entire community, administered internal courts, set 'patriotic' taxes which people had to pay or else face reprisal, and in general, had a controlling hand in all the money that flowed in or out of the community. When anything went wrong between Chinese and Chinese or Chinese and white, they 'settled' it.

For instance, the mayor of Toronto in 1941 called in Chiang Tzu-t'ien and other important men from the community to ask them to apply official sanctions to stop the illegal sale of liquor to minors. The leaders publicized a warning in the local Chinese language newspaper, *Shing Wah Daily*, and to all restaurants to start regulating themselves. Otherwise, the Toronto police would visit them and later close them down. This kind of 'heat' applied against the reluctant proved very effective.

Friends in city halls never hurt. The leaders of the Chinese community realized this. They controlled funds going in and out of the community and had contacts all over North America-- which meant that their political influence was not negligible. Because of this, the Toronto city council appointed

a special Chinatown sub-committee to further cement ties with the community.

The city council could hardly be blamed for this. They did not know much about the community and found it easier to deal with people who could explain to them what was going on rather than listening to a lot of discordant voices. This was only natural. But the result of handing over power to one group was that the rest of the community were too frightened to speak out. Thus, it spread that the Chinese were afraid of the police, and with good reason. In China, the police symbolized government interference and oppression. In Toronto, was the situation any different?

With the repeal of the exclusion laws in 1947, new people entered the community under open immigration. These people were no longer under the thumb of one group and did not particularly care about politics. All they wanted was to live and let live.

To appreciate the change that took place, one needs only to look at the types and variations of businesses and associations available in one of the three Chinatowns in Toronto's downtown area to know what the difference is between today and yesterday. But it was not always like this.

Lord Acton said "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." This tidy saying seems to apply right in our midst, especially to the people we thought we knew well.

Since the local Toronto city government was unable to contact the various individuals and groups in the Chinese community except through the KMT leadership, the community was in the unique position of being a colony-- dependent upon their 'bosses' for support. In a situation such as this, it was quite easy to take advantage of the political, social and economic power that was vested in the hands of one group. Looking back at our history in this light, we can see what our fathers and grandfathers went through.

Lao Bo has an M.A. and has been interested in the politics of Chinatown.




Pepe & Maureen

HANDCRAFTED SILVER JEWELRY

Maureen Dwyer
Jose Fernandez

404 Queen St. West
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2A6
Tel.: 366-0146

"IF WE DON'T HAVE IT . . . YOU DON'T NEED IT"

STEVE'S music store

EVERYTHING IN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
& ACCESSORIES

"SUPER DISCOUNT PRICES"

- | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| ■ ACOUSTIC | ■ GUILD | ■ PEARL | ■ SELMER |
| ■ FENDER | ■ BARCUS-BERRY | ■ KUSTOM | ■ JENSON |
| ■ ROGERS | ■ NORMAN | ■ MARSHALL | ■ FANON |
| ■ LUDWIG | ■ RICKENBACKER | ■ MARTIN | ■ BOGEN |
| ■ GRETSCHE | ■ GIBSON | ■ YAMAHA | ■ ZILDJIAN |
| ■ HAGSTROM | ■ LESLIE | ■ J.B. LANSING | ■ ELECTRO-VOICE |
| ■ M X R | ■ HÖHNER | ■ AMPEG | ■ HOFNER |
| ■ WURLITZER | ■ ARIA | ■ GARNET | ■ ROLAND |
| ■ EKO | ■ KORG | ■ DOBRO | ■ PEAVEY |
| ■ ALTEC | ■ ARP | ■ MOOG | ■ TAPCO |
| ■ SHURE | ■ CERWIN-VEGA | ■ FIBES DRUMS | ■ HI-WATT |
| | ■ IBANEZ | ■ SLINGERLAND | ■ DI MARZIO |
| | | ■ OVATION | ■ UNIVOX |
| | | | ■ TRAVIS BEAN |
| | | | ■ KRAMER |



415 QUEEN ST. W.,
TORONTO, ONT.

366-8888

WHOLESALE & RETAIL

24 Hours
National
Hot Line

(416) 463-4246



CANADIAN COUNCIL FOR RACIAL HARMONY
P.O. BOX 202, STATION 'J', TORONTO, ONT. M4J 4Y1

For Complaints about Discrimination
or Racial Attack Call the Hot Line

Unite for Survival
Become a member
and get involved

XEROX COPIES

7¢
EACH

1st thru 5th
copies per
original

5¢
EACH

6th thru 10th
copies per
original

3¢
EACH

11th and additional
copies of the
same original

All orders are subject to Sales Taxes - Federal and Provincial

STUDENT DISCOUNT
(to students on student work)

FREE SERVICES

- collating
- coloured paper
- legal size paper
- 3 hole punched paper
- A4 metric paper

OTHER SERVICES

- reductions
- transparencies
- colour copies
- Cerlox binding

CHARLES ST. SHOP
open evenings and
Saturdays.

college
copy shop
LIMITED

76 Charles St. W.
Phone: 923-8115

85 Eglinton Ave. E.
Phone: 486-8663

ANNEX

The ANNEX began in January 1978.

We're a multi-use space for the Japanese Canadian community.

We have art shows, good times, lectures and serious times, children's art classes, free legal and social aid, a library on Japanese and Asian concerns, quiet nights, English and Japanese classes, Open House parties the last Saturday of each month, and a lot more things you'll like

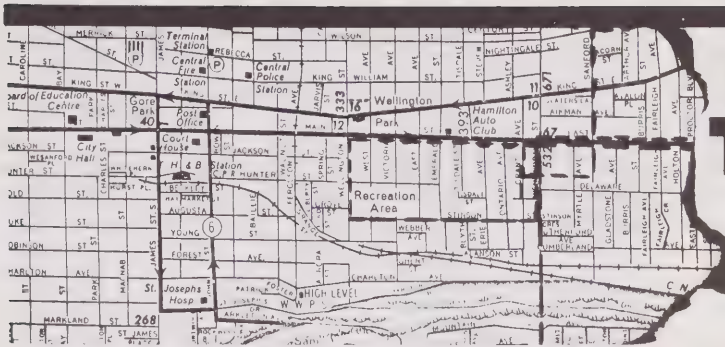
The ANNEX is open 7 days a week.

So come and see us.

We'd like to hear from you.

ANNEX

1468 danforth avenue, toronto, ontario m4j 1n4 463-7441



Hamilton: The Chinatown that died

by Gao Wenxiong

Walking through the business section of Hamilton today, it would probably be inconceivable to think that there are over 5,000 Chinese in this southern Ontario steel city. There are no signs like a particular Chinese business or residential area to indicate such a population. But the fact remains -- there is a Chinese presence that is spread over the entire city of Hamilton.

There have been reasons given why Hamilton does not have a Chinatown. One is that the early Chinatown died out when Chinese brides began arriving from China. Thus Chinese men supposedly spent their sparetime with their families rather than in Chinatown. Another suggests that Toronto's Chinatown was such a lure that people left *en masse* for Toronto. Still another reason stems from the belief that police raids on the Chinese gambling houses made Chinatown a notorious place.

The trouble with these reasons is that they lack any historical perspective. The truth lies somewhere in the relations between the Hamilton government and the Chinese in that city.

Through restrictive By-laws and arbitrary control, the city government inhibited the natural development of the Chinese business-residential area. The rapid increase in the cost of business license fees and a petition system made free enterprise for Chinese businessmen a costly and frustrating endeavour. Only those who had enough money to afford the high-priced licenses or had some political influence could establish a business. Consequently, this situation produced a rigid class structure in the Chinese community which was based on wealth rather than political power.

The first Chinese arrived in Hamilton around 1880. They were mostly merchants who established laundry and service enterprises. While the census only listed these men who lived and gambled in their own small stores, there were also migrant labourers. By 1901, a residential area was developing. Over 40% of the Chinese population was specifically

located in the central working area of the city. From the Chinese point of view, this area was ideally situated because it took in the business area, city hall, market place, train station, and the main road from Toronto. In many ways, it resembled a traditional at Chinese village.

Between 1880 and 1901, Hamilton's Chinese population grew at an ever-increasing rate. A core area of a Chinese settlement located in the inner-city was developing. The rise of this distinct ethnic area along with the deteriorating economic situation in Hamilton at the time, however, made the Chinese suspect in the eyes of whites who began to see the Chinese as an economic threat.

Despite the poor economic picture of Hamilton, the Chinese community continued to grow and prosper. For example, Fong Young who was twenty-six years old when he moved to Hamilton from Ottawa in 1906 opened the first Chinese restaurant. In Hamilton, Fong wasted no time in establishing himself as one of the most successful restaurant owner in the city. In the same year, John G. Lee returned from China with his young bride, Jessie. He was well established in the laundry business as well as being the President of the Chinese Women's Organization which was created as a marriage bureau for the bachelors in the community.

These two entrepreneurs were examples of the close relationship existing at that time between wealth and leadership. Already at this early date, the wealthy men had set themselves as the leaders and spokesmen for the Chinese community. This was a tradition that would be continued by others.

From 1880 to 1910, Hamilton's Chinese developed without any apparent interference from outside forces. In 1910, however, two By-laws passed by the city government significantly affected the Chinese community. These were By-laws 73 and 74. The first excluded the Chinese from establishing further laundries in an area where there was already a strong Chinese business presence. The Chinese had previously established enterprises

in the areas in which they lived because it was less expensive and because they could serve their own population. By imposing legal restrictions, it was impossible for the Chinese to establish a business area away from the general business core of the city. Chinese population growth was, therefore, effectively inhibited.

By-law 74 dealt specifically with laundries. It stated that "every person licensed under this By-law... shall not allow or suffer any gambling or other disorderly practice on said premises, and shall not allow any of the workrooms used for carrying on said laundry business to be used as a sleeping room." Since the white community generally knew about the gambling activities of the Chinese, it tried to restrict and control the Chinese population.

From 1910 to 1911, a Chinese laundryman could still obtain a laundry license for \$2.00. As a result, the city's Chinese population increased to 162. This was a 404% increase over the population of 1901. The significant increase was indicative of a growing community that was not yet inhibited in any way. Before 1911, Chinese laundrymen located their stores wherever they wanted. For expediency, they lived and worked near their customers. Yet, their middle-class customers did not appreciate Chinese laundries in their neighbourhood while, at the same time, enjoying the convenience of their service.

In 1911, By-law 1151 was passed to prohibit the Chinese from establishing laundry stores in predominantly middle-class areas. In the same year, another By-law further restricted Chinese expansion in the areas that they had established businesses. Another

By-law stated that "billiards, pool, laundries, or moving-picture shows" licences had to be renewed every year. Since applications for renewal were published in the local newspapers, there could be a petition against an individual renewal. Any petition against renewal had to be filed within two weeks of being posted in each of the daily newspapers. It was then discussed in the city council with the city clerk having the final say. Thus anyone who could read a newspaper could petition against a Chinese laundry. In addition to this petition system, license fees increased almost every year. In 1912, fees for laundries rose from \$2.00 to \$5.00 per year. In that year only ten licenses were renewed. Five were refused on the grounds that they were "petitioned against". Three of the five refused were in areas where there was already a concentration of Chinese businesses. By 1912, Chinese businesses were being "spread out". Instead of a concentrated business-residential area, Hamilton had an evenly distributed



Chinese population in the Northcentral areas of the city. In 1912, there was only one Chinese business on the street that was later to be known as "Chinatown". A gradual and steady decentralizing movement away from the center of the city began to take place.

With these restrictions, most attempts by Chinese businessmen to relocate elsewhere in the city met with failure. In 1913, James Lee, Sam Sing, Pong Yuen, and 12 others applied to have their laundries transferred. They were all refused. Nine of the refusals were based on the fact that local residents did not want them in their area.

Despite this adverse situation, Chinese laundrymen controlled over 75% of the laundry trade by 1913. The increased laundry license fees was not really a deterrent in stopping the growth of this business. Only those with enough wealth could in fact open a business. As the fees increased, those who could not pay found themselves working for those who could. This resulted in the





growth of a small monied upper class among the Chinese in Hamilton who later took the leadership positions in the community.

Although the Chinese monopolized the laundry business, they were not a significant factor in Hamilton's commercial sector. The Chinese were never an economic threat. In fact, Chinese businesses contributed more tax money than any other ethnic minority in the city. The Chinese were a definite economic benefit to Hamilton.

Despite the positive nature of the Chinese presence in Hamilton, laundry fees were again increased in 1915. While the \$15.00 fee did not deter applicants, only those applying for transfer out of the business sector and into areas that did not have more than six or seven Chinese businesses or families in an area of three square blocks were granted.

An example of the problems that Chinese merchants faced occurred on July 8, 1919, when Charlie Wah submitted an application to establish a laundry at 153 Sherman Avenue North. His application was refused because the residents opposed it. In addition to this, the proposed location was in the vicinity of five other Chinese laundries. Therefore, it was within the boundaries demarcated by By-law 1176 of 1911. Although he knew what was in store for him, Charlie was determined to expand his business. On September 30, he applied to have his laundry license transferred from 663 Barton Street East to 648 Barton. Although the Property and Licensing Committee agreed to the move, the Board of Control reversed the decision. Undaunted, Charlie reapplied to the Property and Licensing Committee on October 14. This time, he enlisted the support of the Evangelical Church. It was an effective move

because he was granted the transfer.

This incident showed that the city's By-laws were not inflexible. With the proper amount of force effectively applied, the law could be bent. It was also of some other greater significance because a member of the Chinese community sought the support of a white minister, Reverend P.W. Philpott rather than a representative of the Chinese community. The fact that Charlie went outside the Chinese community was the result of the Chinese population being dispersed. As the Chinese business-residential area was pulled apart, the social, political, and economic structures were seriously weakened. Charlie Wah's experience, however, was not unique. Whenever it was necessary, members of the Chinese community went outside their ethnic group to seek assistance.

The 1921 census showed that the Chinese population in Hamilton was still growing, but at a slower rate. By 1925, many of the city's Chinese businessmen began to leave. Only those with well established businesses felt that it was worthwhile staying. As more and more businesses closed, the Chinese found themselves hard pressed to locate employment. Eventually Chinese labour also began to leave. This downward trend had a stifling effect on the Chinese population in Hamilton. There were few exceptions to this pattern. Ing Ho-an was one of them.

Ing ho-an came to Hamilton in 1926. He had gone to school in Toronto where he began working as a law clerk. In Toronto, Ing acted as an arbitrator in community disputes and as a community spokesman. When he came to Hamilton, Ing found the going tough. He set himself up in the restaurant business. Even though he later became known as the unofficial "mayor" of the Chinese community, Ing could not change the course of events within the community.

From 1929 to the end of World War I, there was very little change in Hamilton's Chinese population. Many journalists predicted that the Chinese community would die out in twenty-five years. While Hamilton's Chinatown disappeared, the fact that 5,000 Chinese live and work in the steel city today suggests a real growth in the Chinese community. The reasons behind this increase is, however, beyond the scope of this essay.

Gao Wenxiong lives in Hamilton where he is currently engaged in research.

Muskox Press

2571 Dundas St. W.
Toronto, Ontario

Tel: 766-8653

Muskox Press was recently created to service those organizations concerned with the social, economic, and cultural development of their respective communities.

Our instant print quality and prices render the stencil duplicator obsolete. For larger quantity and higher quality, metal plates are always used.

Our press enables us to print on the widest variety of paper stock and sizes from onion skin and newsprint to cover-coated stock up to 11 by 17 inches.

As an owner-operated printing shop, it enables us to reduce your printing costs by as much as 40%.



ARDA Y.T. WONG

353 Palmerston Blvd.,
Toronto, Ont., M6G 2N5
Tel: (416) 964-1709

Free-lance Photographer
Works on assignment in b/w
and color in the following areas:
Documentary, children, picture stories,
ballet, travel, people, education,
annual reports, small community
studies.
Photo File: Begins 1970, 1000 b&w
shots, 700 color shots.
Contains: Junks, Temples & children
in Hong Kong. Old people in Europe.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Canadian Ethnic Studies Association invites papers for its 1979 Biennial Conference to be held in Vancouver, British Columbia, October 11-13, 1979.

The Conference theme, *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, will explore the ethnic factor in the shaping of Canadian politics from Confederation to the present.

Titles and abstracts of papers should be submitted by November 15, 1978. Completed papers are to be submitted by April 1, 1979.

Abstracts and inquiries should be sent to:

Jorgen Dahlie
Program Chairman
1979 CESA Conference
Department of Educational Foundations
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5

CAFE MAY

GERMAN CUISINE

*in a
café
atmosphere*

Live Music:

Tuesday - Jazz
Thursday - Classical Piano

396 Roncesvalles, Toronto
Next to the Revue Repertory

532-9218



with Jag Bhadauria

Jag Bhadauria, executive director of the Canadian Council for Racial Harmony, has been involved in the field of human rights since his university days. Mr. Bhadauria is the recipient of many degrees from India and England, including a Ph.D. in nuclear physics from the University of London. He immigrated to Canada in 1970 and is presently a teacher in Toronto. Mr. Bhadauria is also a student of law-- presently in his final year with the University of London. From among his many activities and community involvement-- he is also the president of the Indo-Canadian Education Centre, Mr. Bhadauria finds time to talk to *The Asianadian* on human rights, racism, education, Asian roots and value systems, multi-culturalism, the French-Canadian in Quebec, as well as what it means to be an Asian in this country.

.....

ASIANADIAN: Before settling in Toronto, you spent some years in Britain. What was your experience there?

JAG BHADAURIA: Large scale immigration basically began in Britain in 1961. I went there in 1962 from New Delhi, India and settled there in 1964. At that time, non-white immigration was a new phenomenon not only for Britain, but also for South Asian immigrants.

In the South Asian community, there was suffering. Many thought that they were at the mercy of the host community because they were just newcomers. But I took the opposite line. Whenever there is oppression, you must stand against oppression. Even in India, I stood up against basic injustices practiced against the lower caste people. Although I came from a fairly upper middle class family, I wasn't going to put up with that kind of injustice. Eventually, that stance became part of my life.

When did you begin to have a social commitment and conscious?

I can't pin-point when. But when I was young, I remembered my mother telling me not to play with those "low caste hoodlums". But I liked those guys and was always opposed to the caste system.

Wouldn't the caste system have benefited you more if you had said nothing?

Yes, that's true. But there is always one corner of your heart where you cannot fail to feel the human injustices. That one corner is always there. In all countries, there are the haves and have-nots. Since I was one of the "haves", I wouldn't be personally affected. But you cannot simply oppress people who are born into a family that is poor. By law, there is no such thing as an untouchable. But by custom, the class differences still exist.

Did you still have this particular social conscience when you studied in London?

At the University of London, I came into contact with people of various backgrounds. It was in Britain that I saw what real persecution was. In India, I could become part of the class of persecutors. But in Britain, I had no choice. I was part of the class of people being persecuted. Realizing that I was subordinate really hit home.

How did you feel going to a country that had colonized India for decades?

Initially, I thought the British were nice people. But after a time, I realized that their niceness was superficial. It was O.K. if you didn't have any contact with them. Once you did, you find out very quickly that the human level of contact is finished.

Do you find Canadians nice on the surface as well?

Canadians are even worse than the British. If an Englishman is racist, he'll tell you. But Canadians say that: "We are not racist". Still, they practice racism of the worst degree.

Doesn't the Ontario Human Rights Commission safeguard human rights?

It has suppressed more human rights in this province than it probably realizes. For example, if the police is unjust, we can understand that. But if the judges are unjust, that's worse. Regarding the Commission, if the task of this body is to administer justice and it does not undo the injustices, that means that it is not only a party, but also the parent body in the suppression of human rights.

Furthermore, it refuses to stand up and really punish employers who won't hire someone because of his/her race. Punishing a company for racism in hiring with a fine of \$500 does nothing to help erase injustice.

The Commission doesn't want the really tough and blatant cases to be publicized. What they do is take the mickey mouse cases, for example, a girl who wants to be on a boy's team. They don't want such cases as the Henry Fong situation. It knows that this is the worst kind of racism. That man should have been a doctor. In his final year, he was thrown out like a housefly out of milk. That is the kind of case that should have been upheld. But the Commission makes sure that these cases be not dealt with. It knows that if they are, the floodgates of human

rights would be opened. It doesn't want this.

Isn't there a South Asian on the Commission?

It doesn't matter. You can have a South Asian, a Chinese, or a Japanese. They are simply tools of the government.

Do you think that Canada should adopt something like a quota system in Affirmative Action?

No, I don't believe in the quota system of affirmative action because such a system means inferiority.

What would you propose to give equal opportunity for every race?

The Canadian Council for Racial Harmony has always stated that there should be a mandatory clause in the Canadian Bill of Human Rights that every individual has the right to equality in employment and promotion in this country. When you say that an individual has a right, this right can then be upheld from the lowest court through to the highest court in the country.



.....
Come with me,
with your face blackened,
and I'll show you what it means to be
a non-white person in this city...
.....

When did the Canadian Council for Racial Harmony begin?

We started in 1975 with a group of ten to twelve people from different ethnic groups. We found that many visible minorities were either very naive or frightened of the establishment. They thought that they would always be subjected to harassment, intimidation, and personal attacks for years.

One of the purposes of the Council is to educate the people about their rights; that no one is superior because of race. If you begin to fight for your rights, you will get your dues-- even if it takes the next 10 or 20 years.

This is a long battle which all visible minority groups have been through. There will be a day when race wouldn't enter into judgements about qualifications. That will be the day when there will be a Chinese Police Commissioner or a Black Defense Minister or a Filipino Multicultural Minister.

One of the things the Council did when it started was to make the word "racism" a word that people had to talk about. Before we started, no one spoke publicly about racism. Mayor Crombie of Toronto and Paul Godfrey all denied that racism existed in Toronto even after the N.B.C. report which stated that there was a racial powder keg in this city. On the same day, I went on national T.V. and said: "Come with me, with your face blackened and I'll show you what it means to be a non-white person in this city; in this country."

As an educator, do you find that education can be a vehicle of social change?

Even though education can be a strong element, it is a long term one. It can certainly change people's thinking. But that takes generations. The rule of law is the most important factor. If the laws are just and there are courts to uphold these laws, then changes can come within a shorter time. Laws don't change people's thinking. What they do is to change people's actions. They set up barriers against racism.

What needs to be changed to improve Canadian education?

School children should come into more contact with visible minorities at all levels. If they see a Black principal or a South Asian counsellor, or a Chinese English teacher, their stereotype of the lazy Black or the Chinese laundryman will be destroyed.

The books that they read are also important. If the books are written from an Anglo-Saxon outlook, they will get a distorted viewpoint. The curriculum material must be written showing the contributions of all the visible minorities.

When you speak about contributions, aren't you referring to Canadian history?

The history of Canada is again the white man's history. But the pressure is building up from various groups. There is a different kind of history from the visible minorities' perspective that is equally valid.

Asian Canadians have always contributed to this country. Yet, after 10 years, I'm still called a South Asian. I want to be a first-class Canadian citizen. Nothing else.



When you speak about being a "Canadian", are you not speaking about being Anglo or adopting Anglo-Saxon values?

Many immigrants who come to Canada in order to get ahead have to learn about the values of the country. But, by assimilating, it psychologically destroys their own credibility, their own roots.

Can an Asian Canadian culture develop?

That may be difficult. But, the first thing is that you must have pride in your own roots. I find it very discouraging that some Asians with their great Asian civilizations behind them put down their own heritage.

Are these Asians colonize in their thinking that the Anglo culture is superior?

Yes, this kind of mentality still exists among Asians. After arriving in Canada, they undergo a mental colonization. This is what the Council tries to fight and at the same time, provide some kind of psychological uplifting. It's very important for someone to say: "I'm equal." If a person thinks that he/she is inferior, he/she'll expect treatment that is inferior. This is self-hatred. This is what we are saying: "Whenever you see an Anglo, never think that he/she is any more superior than you".

Unlike physical colonization which is right in front of you. Mental colonization can't be seen. But, it is of the most dangerous kind because it perpetuates the inferior status of Asians, not by other, but by Asians themselves.

Are there Asian values as opposed to Anglo values?

The value of loving thy neighbour, for example is neither an Asian nor Anglo value. It is universal. Health is a value that is neither Asian nor Anglo. There really isn't any difference on a racial level.

If there aren't any value differences among races, are there any other differences?

Class structure is chiefly responsible for what exists now. If you look at the ordinary man on the street, he feels threatened. It's because he believes that a job that should rightfully be his goes to a minority. That's the difference.

What are your views on Multiculturalism?

I have nothing against multiculturalism as long as the practice follows the preaching. But the danger is that people might be sidetracked from the real issue of attaining equality. If that be the case, I would be opposed to the policy of multiculturalism. However, if the government is serious about having diversified cultures exist side by side, I think that it is the policy of the 21st century.

.....
I have always believed that
people should have the right
to determine their own destiny.
.....

Isn't it the question of implementation?

Definitely! All cultures are equal and all are beautiful. The government and the people of Canada should accept that. But extending this to the fact that people are equal, that isn't being done. By not giving people a place in society, multiculturalism is simply a crude form of control. The government says "We only tolerate specific things, we only want you to play around with the ladder, but we won't let you come to the top because you don't deserve it. All you deserve is to sing and dance." If that's the case, I would oppose the policy.

There is the contention that the multicultural policy is merely a red-herring to divert attention away from Quebec. What is the role of Asian Canadians in terms of the conflict between the French and English?

I have always believed that people should have the right to determine their own destiny.

Would you say that the French are mentally colonized like other ethnic groups?

Definitely! I have no quarrel with Anglophones settled in top positions in other provinces. But in Quebec, the French should be the master of their own house.

Are there any lessons that Asian Canadians can learn from the French- English conflict?

One lesson is the suppression of a people. Ever since Asians arrived in Canada, we have been a very submissive, very docile, very timid people. But those days are gone. We have to demand. You don't get equality without sacrifice, if not physical, then mental, emotional, or social sacrifice. What we can learn from the French is never to submit. We may not get equality today. The French have endured. Asians can endure as well.

Do you think that Canada is a better place for visible minorities?

I think that it's the other way around. How can Canada be a better place for visible minorities? Given the present circumstances, things will never get any better. Newton's First Law of Motion states that everything, every action, will continue in its state of rest or of uniform motion unless disturbed by some external force. Being a physicist, I apply the same law to human rights: that things will remain status quo unless people make changes from outside the establishment. And we are the people to make the changes for our coming generation.

We're Just Children



The following passages are selected from
Come With Us: Children Speak for Themselves,
Toronto: The Women's Press, 1978.

I CAME FROM HONG KONG

I came to Canada because it was very hot in Hong Kong. It was quite slummy. We had one flat and we were renting another. This person was coming back to his flat and so we needed another. We were also spending too much money there.

We wanted to get out of Hong Kong because my mother and father were arguing too much. They wanted a divorce and we were afraid. There was hardly any open space.

MY FATHER CAME FROM HONG KONG

When my dad was fifteen or twenty, his brothers and sisters and his father and him came to Canada. In Hong Kong those days when my father lived there, they had no pop, no orange juice, just hot water. They could make tea out of the hot water. The main food was fish because they could get it from the pond, but they were very small fishes.

I think that he liked it here better than in Hong Kong. My father's mother died in Hong Kong after they left, and my father's father died in Canada. He likes it better here because there's more things to see, and it's probably more free here. By free I mean that it's more modern. Like we have orange juice, pop, milk, and other things like that.

MY NEIGHBOURHOOD VANCOUVER

My neighbourhood is real bad. We have a Motor Vehicle Office which makes it dangerous to play on the road. There's the Canadian Legion with a beer parlour upstairs, and pool halls full of greasers.

The area is so bad that there is at least one fire a day or an accident on Grandview Highway. The people asked to install a traffic light, but City Hall just ignores us.

The railroad tracks are the worst thing of all. The windows tremble at night when the train goes by. In my home country, Japan, the trains are run by electricity, which causes no pollution and is almost noiseless.

IN MY COUNTRY THERE ARE THIRTEEN LANGUAGES

I speak a little bit Hindi, Punjabi, and English. In my country there are thirteen languages. My mother and my father can speak Hindi.

My grandmother was twelve when she got married. My mother was seventeen. My mother's mother just is six or seven years older than my father. My one aunt is just three years bigger than me. When my mother was married, my aunt was just one year old.

Community News

IMELDA MARCOS' TRIP TO CANADA AND THE PURCHASE OF CANADIAN URANIUM

For the past few months, the Canada-Friendship Society (CPFS) in Toronto has been protesting the invitation of Imelda Marcos to highlight the 100 year celebration of the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) in August. *Tinig: Voice of Filipinos* stated that "during the CNE centennial celebration which begins on August 16, the Philippines will be the 'featured country'.

A 'featured country' gets a special mention in all of the CNE's promotion campaign.

This is considered a 'very lucky break' for the Filipino community in Canada considering the fact that it is CNE's 100th year of existence."

A CPFS spokesman said that "We have nothing against promoting the name of the Philippines as a developing country with vast potentials but truth demands that we do not hide its other side--the hideous Marcos dictatorship."

Moreover, the spokesman said "Imelda's presence makes it imperative for freedom-loving Filipinos, their Canadian friends and other nationalities to stand up, unmask that dictatorship and peel off all the layers of cosmetics that make it look beautiful."

In another statement, the CPFS stated that "it is not idle to speculate that Marcos is looking at the nuclear reactor project in military terms. In addition, the nuclear reactor (Westinghouse) is being built in the vicinity of five (5) active volcanos." In a *Statement of Unity*, the CPFS stated that the "martial law regime in the Philippines is desperately looking for suppliers of the needed uranium to get the reactor operational by 1982. It had earlier depended on Australia to provide the bulk of yellowcake uranium but Australia's anti-uranium movement, Labor Party opposition and the Aborigine's stand against further uranium mining on their ancestral territory forced the Fraser government to say no to a Phi-

lippine delegation that visited in March.

"The construction of the Westinghouse nuclear plant assisted by U.S. government financial assistance has already disrupted the lives and livelihood of subsistence farmers in Morong whose rice fields, fishing grounds, livestock and fruit trees have been destroyed.

"The Filipino people have more urgent needs like land reform, rural development, industrialization and food production. The cost of this reactor comes to \$1.1 billion--equivalent to 17% of the current Philippine foreign debt of \$6.4 billion."

The CPFS also stated that "to provide repressive and unstable regimes like the Marcos dictatorship with nuclear fuel and technology which is a gigantic step towards the production of nuclear weapons, is to promote long-term instability not only in the Philippines but in the whole of Southeast Asia." It demanded that "Canada not be used to further the interests of such repressive regimes." It condemned "the violent repression of human rights in the name of development." And finally, the CPFS demanded that "Canada be conscious of its responsibility to promote human rights and maintain its tradition of freedom not only for its own people but for the people of the world."

For further information, write to:

CPFS

P.O. Box 5505, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1N7

ENGLISH GRAMMAR FOR BEGINNERS

by Stephen Gill

\$3.00

A useful book for people immigrating to North America, and any beginner wishing to learn English.

Vesta Publications Limited
P.O. Box 1641
Cornwall, Ontario K6H 5V6

Dubious Award

The Dubious Award for Summer 1978 goes to

Takee-Outee Restaurant
Hamilton, Ontario

Comments from the Award Jury

The Takee-Outee Restaurant located next to Diamond Jim's Tavern in Hamilton has as its outstanding symbol a Chinese coolie with pig tails and dress to match running with a tray of chop suey.

We deplore the use of this racist symbol because it perpetuates stereotypes in the worst way. It not only shows the pidgin English illiteracy of the Chinese in Canada, but also the fact that Chinese can only become waiters in white Canada. Chinese do not run around in coolie hat and pig tails-- the latter a sign of subjugation. Again, it is an attempt to show the inferiority of the Chinese in Canada and, at the same time, uphold white supremacy.

We urge a boycott of this restaurant.



Yes, I'd like to treat myself to a new Asian Canadian sensibility.
Please send me (and I enclosed):

One year subscription (4 issues)

- ☐ \$4.00 Canada
- ☐ \$5.50 U.S.A. & Overseas 1st Class
- ☐ \$6.00 Institutions
- ☐ \$8.00 Overseas Air Mail

Two year subscription (8 issues)

- ☐ \$7.00 Canada
- ☐ \$10.00 U.S.A. & Overseas 1st Class
- ☐ \$14.00 Overseas Air Mail

To start: Volume ____ No. ____

Please make cheques or money orders payable to:

The Asianadian

P.O. Box 1256, Station Q

Toronto, Ontario M4T 2P4 Canada

SUBSCRIBE NOW

THE ASIANADIAN

The Asianadian Subway Crossword

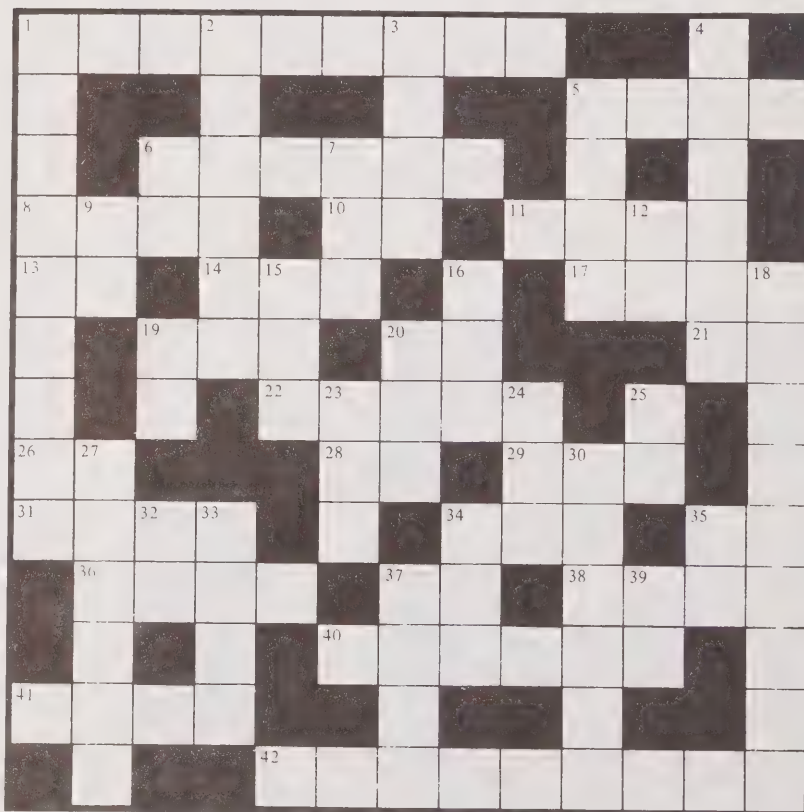
by Gertrude

ACROSS

1. ___ tablet used by some traditional *hua qiao* (9)
5. To whip (4)
6. Chinese and Japanese tea with fan-shaped leaves (6)
8. Vancouver _____ of 1907 (4)
10. That is (abbr.) (2)
11. Zola's novel (4)
13. Town (abbr.) (2)
14. Possess (3)
17. Disturbances (4)
19. Age (3)
20. To ___ or not to ___ (2)
21. Asian Americans (abbr.) (2)
22. Kingdom (5)
26. Instinctive impulses (2)
28. Not off (2)
29. Much ___ About Nothing (3)
31. Indian nation (4)
34. In the ___ of the storm (3)
35. Foreign tobacco company in pre-'49 China (abbr.) (2)
36. Rabid dogs (4)
37. Bachelor of Arts (abbr.) (2)
40. Energy (6)
41. Jazz singing (4)
42. Positive statement (9)

DOWN

1. Policy of racial segregation (9)
2. On staff of a magazine (6)
3. Emotional reaction to racism (4)
4. She wrote *A Chioce of Dreams* (6)
5. What racists hope to instill (4)
6. Japanese game (2)
7. Relative (3)
9. ___ the Heat of the Night (2)
12. Negative (2)
15. Obscenity (3)
16. Snake - like fish (3)
18. Leaping (9)
19. Latin for and (2)
20. Prohibition (3)
23. Immeasurable period (3)
24. 1919 Chinese protest movement (3)
25. Conscientious objector (abbr.) (2)
27. Abnormality (6)
30. Fate of some Chinese workers after the CPR was built (6)
32. Number (abbr.) (2)
34. Mastication (3)
35. Western province (abbr.) (2)
37. Head honcho (4)
39. Conjunction (2)



SOLUTION IN NEXT ISSUE



Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame, by Barry Broadfoot. (Toronto: Doubleday, Canada Ltd. 1977), 370 pp. \$12.50

In any examination of Japanese Canadian history the focus is ultimately placed upon the episode which dramatically altered thousands of lives-- the evacuation of Canadians of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific coast during World War II. Last year this symbol of racist hysteria received considerable public attention as 1977 marked the official centennial of the Japanese in this country. And, fortunately, the anniversary was not only observed through *origami* displays and *bon odori* dance demonstrations, but also through some serious reflections upon our past, present and future as a visible minority in Canada.

One book published appropriately during the centennial was Barry Broadfoot's *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame*, a collection of personal accounts by individuals who lived through the evacuation. The book jacket blurb makes the lofty claim that Broadfoot, "armed with his tape recorder and his curiosity, has penetrated the minds and hearts of Japanese Canadians." This might have been his intention, but regrettably, he has merely scratched the surface. *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame* is an honest, but cursory exploration of a significant chapter in the history of racism in Canada.

What is particularly disturbing about Broadfoot's approach is his lack of critical comment. Organizing his collected interviews into fourteen chapters, he introduces each phase of the tragedy (pre-evacuation, ghost towns, Ontario prison camps, relocation, and so forth) with brief explanatory notes which, like his preface, carry a tone of wishy-washy liberalism. Broadfoot expresses the expected degree of humanistic outrage and sympathy, yet at the same time he manages to remain at a safe distance from the real political issues. Given that he wanted the Japanese Canadians to tell their own

story in their own words, his non-committal stance is perhaps justified to some extent. Ostensibly, the poignant memories of the thousands of 'innocent victims' should be sufficient to indict MacKenzie King, Austin Taylor (head of the B.C. Security Commission) and all the other racist politicians of the time. However, the book could have a much more powerful impact if the individual accounts were presented more cohesively, accompanied by a strong socio-political analysis by Broadfoot. Without any sort of analytic framework, the anonymous accounts tend to drift into a dangerously nostalgic, and sometimes romanticized atmosphere.

When reading *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame* it is important to remember that it is an oral history. Thus it should not be taken too literally, for it is automatically on the edge of a number of common pitfalls. For example, we must take into account the fact that the individuals who shared their experiences with Broadfoot edited their words to some extent as they spoke into his microphone. Although they expressed what they considered to be the truth, on a subconscious level they were still delivering a performance. In addition, Broadfoot admits that he only included 130,000 words out of the 300,000 words which he recorded. We must therefore question his criteria for selecting material and ask ourselves whether or not the published accounts offer a representative cross-section.

The anonymity of the sources indeed weakens the authenticity of the book. Even though some of the people interviewed probably asked to have their identities concealed because of the deeply personal nature of the subject, Broadfoot should have included specific names, dates and places where permission was granted. A more formal documentation of the accounts would not only have added validity to the book as a piece of hard, historical research, but would also have helped to reduce the book's annoying abstract quality.

It is possible that Broadfoot left out the names for an obvious symbolic purpose: to convey the status of the Japanese Canadians during World War II as a mass of undifferentiated yellow stuff. It is an interesting device, but one that can become rather tedious. The monotonous style and structure of *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame* bears a disturbing resemblance to *Ten Lost Years*, Broadfoot's oral history of the Depression in Canada. In *Ten Lost Years* we not only find the same absence of documentation, but also the same continuity of tone and the same pervasive atmosphere of despair, frustration and futility. The possible analogies between the uprooted Japanese Can-

adians during World War II and the poverty-stricken transients during the Great Depression are of course extremely valid--the loss of dignity and individuality, the demoralizing financial insecurity and the sense of being crushed by uncontrollable social forces. But a comparative study between the two books also points out Broadfoot's weaknesses as a writer, for it suggests that he relies heavily on the same tried and true formulas to ensure that the reader's emotions are aroused.

The fact that *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame* operates primarily on an emotional level is not necessarily a flaw. Broadfoot's book may lack the power to shake us out of our various states of complacency, but it does manage to stir up the reader's anger by emphasizing the self-defeating attitude of "shikata-ga-naï", (meaning "it can't be helped".) Blinded by this belief, the Japanese Canadians were able to swallow the idea that the entire evacuation episode was in fact a blessing to them, as it not only broke up their little Tokyos and elevated their economic status, but also facilitated their integration into Canadian society--their assimilation into white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant society. Thus the greatest tragedy of the calculated evacuation and dispersal program was the government's success in eroding the Japanese culture in Canada. *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame* clearly reinforces the fact that ethnicity is only permitted on a superficial level in this country. Even today, behind the great 'cultural mosaic' myth is the desire to white-wash us.

As an introduction to the history of the evacuation, and as a companion book to Ken Adachi's *The Enemy That Never Was*, *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame* definitely constitutes required reading, despite all of its weaknesses. No one can deny the enormous value of the honest feelings and memories which Broadfoot has collected from Japanese Canadians across the country. Each personal account offers a source of vivid impressions, providing the reader with several starting points from which he/she can embark on a more in-depth study of the horrors of the past and their profound effects upon the shaping of the Japanese Canadian psyche.

BY MOMOYE SUGIMAN

who worked for Breakthrough, a feminist magazine, and is a student in English literature at York University.

In the Sea of Sterile Mountains: The Chinese in British Columbia, by James Morton. (Vancouver: J. J. Douglas Ltd., 1974), 280 pp.

Today the Western Guard declares its intention to seek status as a bona fide political party, and a wave of shock runs through Canadian Society.

But yesterday in Nineteenth Century British Columbia, where racism in the form of anti-orientalism often constituted the platform for candidates in electoral campaigns, the Western Guard probably would not have represented such an anomaly.

James Morton, author of *In the Sea of Sterile Mountains*, traces the history of the Chinese settlement in Canada, and finds it to be a long, shameful story of not only social, but also political persecution. As Morton documents the tireless, often thwarted efforts of British Columbian bigwigs to close job opportunities to the Chinese, tax them out of the country, or close the gates of immigration altogether, he tears down our historical myths with a delightfully understated aplomb.

Sir John A. Macdonald, the revered Father of Confederation after whom doubtless many public places have been named, had this to say in 1887: "On the whole, it is considered not advantageous to the country that the Chinese should come and settle in Canada producing a mongrel race, and interfering very much with white labour in Canada. I do not think it would be to the advantage of Canada or any other country occupied by Aryans for members of the Mongolian race to be permanent inhabitants of the country. I believe it would introduce a conflict between working classes which would result in evil."

In an address in Vancouver in 1910, Sir Wilfred Laurier pointed out to his own credit that in the previous four years, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad had not employed a single Asiatic, and defended his failure to exclude the entire race on the basis of the importance of Eastern trade to Britain and Canada.

When the first Chinese, Chang Tsoo, arrived in Canada from California in 1858, the general attitude was one of amused condescension: "Doubtless ere long the familiar interrogation of *wantee washee* will be added to our everyday conversation." But two years later, feelings against the Celestials, sons of the Flowery Kingdom, John Chinamen, or disciples of Confucius, as they were euphoniouly called, had coalesced to the point where the House of Assembly proposed a ten dollar poll tax on all Chinese.

The proposal was defeated, but it was doubly significant. It marked the beginning of a series of legislative measures launched

against the Chinese. Vetoed on the grounds that Chinese business was beneficial to the commerce of the colony, it also represented a polarity of anti-Chinese feelings on one hand, balanced on the other hand with the desire for self-gain which unfortunately necessitated the presence of the 'moon-eyed Orientals'.

From that time on, various bills to tax Orientals, known as 'Oriental licences' and 'queue taxes' were proposed, but were largely unsuccessful until 1885. At that time, thanks largely to the city's Member of Parliament, Noel Shakespeare, and to the Secretary of State, Joseph Chapleau, the Dominion established the first head tax on Chinese. From \$50, it was increased to \$100 in 1900, and to \$500 in 1903 by Sir Wilfred Laurier.

Anti-orientalism was rampant to the extent that persecution became a popular pastime. In 1881, a poetry competition was announced, and the winning poem in the 'John Chinamen' category was printed in the *Colonial*:

They are coming, they are coming,
Every week a thousand more,
From the crowded towns of Asia,
And the great Mongolian shore...

Despite the negative feelings of the British Columbians towards the Chinese, they were accepted as a necessary evil, for without the cheap labour they provided, the Canadian Pacific Railway would have been impossible to finish without financial ruin. And without their pliant servants, the ladies of the era would have had to do their own dirty laundry, and the Belmont shoe factory would have had to close. Indeed, the Grand Trunk Pacific, priding itself on employing only white labour, fell into financial ruin.

But once the crucial CPR had been laid, and the entire fruit and vegetable industry came under Chinese control, they were more difficult to tolerate. In 1922, B.C. passed a resolution calling for the total exclusion of the Chinese. This was followed a year later by a Federal immigration bill with basically the same effect. In the next 23 years, only eight new Chinese were permitted as immigrants into Canada.

Dealing with such a sensitive subject as racial discrimination, it would have been easy for Morton, a product of our enlightened society, to have slid into hysterical didactics. He can be commended for resisting that tendency and letting the facts speak for themselves.

Nevertheless, I closed the book with a sense of dissatisfaction. Morton has conscientiously put in all the facts, names, dates, historical context and amusing little anecdotes that liven up what could be a dreary historical narrative. But it is a bit

like seeing Chinatown on a guided tour, you get all you are supposed to get, but you never get inside those run-down shanties so enticingly enveloped in 'mystery and squalid romance'.

Who was this Kwong Lee who established the first Chinese trading company in British Columbia? Or William Cumyow, a bright young interpreter who was jailed for forgery and years later reappeared claiming to be his own brother? Although Morton's book brings the story up to the present moment, when a Chinese can run for the mayoralty of Vancouver and actually succeed, the Chinese people remain the same moon-faced strangers who first appeared washing for gold in the B.C. rivers.

Morton's research method is partly accountable for this shortcoming. The history is built largely on a chronological assemblage of articles in various local newspapers. Since their readers looked upon the Chinese with amusement alternating with disgust, those incidents which reinforced such attitudes must have taken priority in the press coverage of that time. More perceptive articles about the Chinese community were probably never written or published. One must be resigned to the fact that news is not necessarily the whole truth of the situation and look elsewhere than in Morton's book for a deeper understanding of the pioneer Chinese in Canada.

BY SANDY JEW

WE'RE JUST CHILDREN

- a film on racism in Toronto, 1977.
- directed by Nancy Tong.
- 16mm., 8 min., B&W & Colour.
- For sale and rental, please contact :
Canadian Film-makers Distribution
Centre, 406 Jarvis, Toronto.
Tel. (416) 921-4121.
or
Nancy Tong,
5, Shady Golfway, 1418,
Don Mills.
Tel. (416) 421-5793.

IS THERE STILL A BERLIN NIGHT?

by Chen Shanchang

You said
That I
Didn't look Canadian.
I laughed,
I didn't care
Brushing it off
Because Europeans
Aren't suppose to know.

Did I know
That you
With all your talk
In the Staatliche Museen
That what you meant
Was growing old
On a Black Forest farm
With crying babies?

The last
I heard
Was your talk of Sudan deserts
And Cairo cable cars
Stranded in market places
And yard-wide streets.

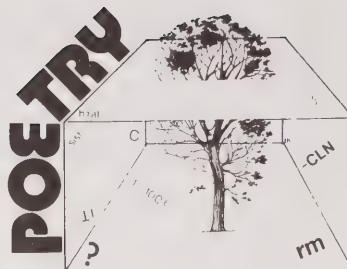
I wondered about
Your silence

Then I read:

*Weist Kairo europäische
Terror-Verdachtige aus?*

*Chen Shanchang is a third generation Asian
living in Toronto.*

*Cyril Dabydeen is an Ottawa-based South
Asian Canadian poet.*



MISTER MAN

by Cyril Dabydeen

Husk of flesh
 bronzed
glinting sun
 on your forehead
bone shape
 what quality
of skin
 from what island
do you come
Mister Man?

You will not return
 you will linger
here for a while longer
 watching
the rakish twist
 of your hat
chain around your neck
 sauntering
along
 whistling
a tune
Keep pouting
 expect change
to come like manna
 from heaven
 dream of the sudden
 shift in fortune
buy lottery
 think of going back
how soon? oh the yearning
 Mister Man
Where d'you come from?
 How deep
is your anonymity?



by Y.T. WONG

CULTURES

by Lakshmi Gill

Amid chants,
I perform sacrifice
against a white winter sun
while the west thrusts Persephone
into that underworld

Mine expands into a pale void
as incense smoke ascends
(swaying like a Chinese dragon
its fire darting everywhere
and nowhere)
feeding the gods its fumes.

Amid chants
I perform sacrifice in the sun
while the west ejects pomegranates

As I watch the mangustan
(its fruits like a Benares ware
smelted soon in my furnace-mouth
wide and wild)
await the luxury of its taste.

In the monsoon after the sweat
final season of madness
milk flowing from my breasts.

COGNITION

by Lakshmi Gill

Become inarticulate. Have said
it all, heard it said, said better,
and newly. Should have.
Missionary words.

Dumb in movielight
soul-filtered pasig river
suddenly filthy at bridge stop

mabuhay pilipinas
goodbye salute you

white dominicans walk like pelicans
their mouths full of pecans

Profounder. Graduate students
talk in fluorescence,
read more, more said, said critics
and referred, preferred professor.

Can not revert. Ayoko na.
Uuwi ako. Pagod. Tapos.
No speeka da eenglish.

*Lakshmi Gill is a Filipino Canadian poet
living in New Brunswick.*

by Sandy Jew

The woman they call beautiful,
 lies long-limbed, full-breasted, fecund on the bed,
 dulled in the heat of the afternoon,
 pulls lovely fingers, redtipped, through
 the careless splendour streaming from the lovely head,
 heavy lids, crimson lips, opens a photogenic yawn,
 and reaching over a languid arm, turns the radio on.
 This woman they call beautiful, pale petal caught in the iron frame,
 is restless before the expected knock, the calculated game.

THE PHOTOGRAPHER SHOT THE ENEMY SOLDIER HUNKERED DOWN IN
 THE SUN, HE WAS CAUGHT, BROWN CHEST GLEAMING BELLY FLATTENED
 BY DEVOTION TO THE BELIEF, POLISHING HIS RIFLE WITH A CLOTH,
 AND STARTLED, THROUGH A BLACK SHOCK OF HAIR, NARROWED HIS
 QUICK EYES, AND WHITE TEETH IN A DARK FACE, LAUGHED AT THE
 SUN BESIDE THE PHOTOGRAPHER'S HEAD.

Now if loss be a measure of beauty's worth, and
 the faded flower, the withered dug hold
 no anguish like the severed hand,
 or the opened belly bloodying the road,
 then beauty can be no scented rose,
 but just the living man.

issei east

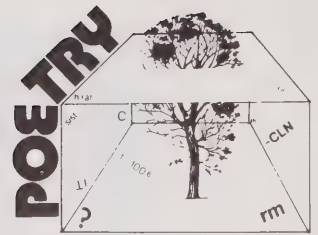
by Bryce Kanbara

In those few moments he was left alone,
 during those quickening days
 before his death
 at St. Joseph's Hospital in Hamilton,
 my grandfather beamed his gaze
 past glass, across the lawn,
 up rush-hour John St.,- and then,
 suddenly, a straight, fast, avenue
 to the fir trees
 and the clean, pungent sprays
 of Port Moody.

so earnestly they reassured me,
 I believed them.
 I believed them
 when they said it would not hurt.

you would have believed them too.

and now, all their earnest bereavement
 I do not even feel betrayed.



FOR MY FRIENDS

By Emmanuel A.F. Lacaba

Invisible the mountain route to strangers:
 For rushing toes an inch-wide strip on boulders
 And for this hand that's free a twig to grasp,
 Or else we headlong fall below to rocks
 And waterfalls of death so instant that
 Too soon they're red with skulls of carabaos.

But patient guides and teachers are the masses:
 Of forty mountains and a hundred rivers;
 Of plowing, planting, weeding, and the harvest;
 And a dozen languages that dwarf
 This foreign tongue we write each other in
 Who must transcend our bourgeois origins.

You want to know, companions of my youth,
 How much has changed the wild but shy young poet
 Forever writing last poem after last poem;
 You hear he's dark as earth, barefoot;
 A bolo to his inside, a turban round his head:
 Deeper still the struggling change inside.

Like husks of coconuts he tears away
 The billion layers of his selfishness.

Emmanuel Lacaba was born in 1948 in Cagayan de Oro, Philippines and worked with the Philippines Free Press and the Asia-Philippines Leader as copywriter and contributor. He became one of the country's well-known journalists. He joined the movement for national democracy after the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971. On 18 March, 1976, he was killed after an encounter in Asuncion, Davao del Norte.

IF I DIE

by Emmanuel A.F. Lacaba

If I die, it's true many people
will weep, not only relatives
But friends in the city I left -
Former classmates and fellow workers,
And intellectuals who loved poetry.
So will the masses weep
And the workers who told me
The bitter story of their lives.

Yes, I will rejoice if
They all come to my wake and funeral,
If they fill the whole street
In that last march where my hearse
Is draped in a red flag
With hammer, sickle, or three stars,
And they begin to ask:
"For whom, why did he die?"

But it does not matter
If I get dumped on the earth
To be covered by grass and buried by worms
Without remembrance, without a name.
It will suffice if the masses I loved
Rise and destroy this rotten prison!
To create a just society,
Yes, there will be light inside when I die.

(Freely translated by Malaya Castro)

PROPOSITION:

by Karen Uchida

Grasp this hand,
of the poetic preacher,
dipped in the paints
of a confined conservative city,
they did swerve a body,
from a speeding car,
caress a stranger whom they did not know,
yes take a chance,
that could last,
shed those self reserves,
the poisoned icing of a delicious cake,
observe the fingers,
the beginning of an entire body,
you can share,
or lend and borrow,
to a fair compromise,
I have done my part,
can you extend your hand,
and complete the circle.



by Y.T. WONG

ON THE FIRING LINE

by Daniel Magosaburo

WHO SPEAKS WITH FORK TONGUE?

Noam Chomsky once said that individuals are able to establish that they know something by their ability to express or give utterances to it, primarily by verbal language.

In Canadian race relations, terms that whites use to degrade and subordinate Asians range from Jap, Flip, Paki, Chink, Gook, Slope-eyes, and so on. Racial slurs have a more profound significance than the simple attempt to embarrass, ridicule, or make light of. Because they exist, these words and other pejorative remarks result in how one race views another. What they show is the attempt by white Canadians who still believe that the white man is Boss therefore continuing the colonization of Asians in Canada.

Verbal language-- the mark of what one knows. When Asians begin to adopt the white view of themselves as "Orientals", what happens is a sell-out of roots, language, culture, and finally the emergence of a "bamboo rod"-- brown on the outside and hollow on the inside.

"Orientals" are the creation of non-Asians. Manufactured in the West, they are the colonized Asians-- the ones who "go along" with whites saying "ah so", who follow whites and their sexist, materialist and money-oriented values. They accept the racial slurs by saying that whites are just ignorant and retire in the background-- passive, docile, and laid back.

Perpetuating the image of Asians as "Orientals" is done in many subtle ways. The worst are the on-the-spot verbal assaults.

"Hi Chinky!" so said an elegant white female in a fashionable Bloor Street boutique to a Sansei woman.

While racial slurs sustain the white view of Asians as inferior, other comments denote rejection.

"I thought he was born in Hong Kong"

a blue-eyed charity worker commented while referring to a third generation Asian born in British Columbia.

"Oh, you want a student rate. Do you have your student visa?" so asked the health official of a Vancouver-born South Asian PhD student.

"You're being too sensitive. I've never been discriminated against." said the hazel-eyed Editor of a national book magazine to an Asian who questioned him about the racism of one of his reviewers. What the Editor meant was that even the thoughts of Asians are not valid. After all, Canada is a most tolerant place. How could there be racist remarks in his magazine?

While it is understandable that Europeans believe that all Canadians are white, the fact still exists that even the most liberal white Canadians see things in "black and white". In a letter to *The Asianadian* Editor, an Edmonton reader stated that "In fact accuracy in all its vibrant hues, is the best weapon historians have to remind Canadians that their society too has failed at times... ." Who are the "Canadians" who the historians must remind? Are they Black Canadians or white Canadians? The inference is obvious.

In the same letter, white racists are referred to as "hypocrites". By definition, a hypocrite is a person guilty of hypocrisy. And hypocrisy is the simulation of virtue or goodness. To single someone out who commits pretense or someone who commits vicious acts on particular racial groups are two different things. But the fact remains-- what happened in Vancouver in 1907 was started by white racists who may also have been hypocrites.

Gut History or white liberal History? Asian Canadians or "Oriental Canadians"? Aren't these the questions?

Daniel Magosaburo is a free-lance critic and reviewer.



LETTERS

A MASSACRE OR RIOT

The Editors:

I was rereading *The Asianadian* and was again struck by the use of the word 'massacre' when referring (*sic*) to the Vancouver riots of 1907 in "The Chinese Community in Canada," p. 15.

It disturbs me because of its inaccuracy and the erroneous impression it creates. By definition a massacre is "the indiscriminate killing of a number of human beings, as in barbarous warfare or persecution, or for revenge or plunder". I have studied the 1907 riots and quite categorically can state that *no one* died on either side and that the only ones sustaining serious injuries were two Caucasian punks who were treated for head cuts. In fact there are accounts of Chinese and Japanese passing through the 'mob' and going about their business untouched during the riot. The 1907 riots were a wanton destruction of property by hooligans stirred up by persons who wished to force B.C. society to conform to their particular definition of what a society should be, but a 'massacre', never.

The use of terms like 'massacre' is asking for trouble. Not only do you leave yourself open for criticism from those who love to criticize Asians, and they still exist, but you do your Asian readers a disservice by teaching them untruths about their past. By teaching that the mob was murderous you give it more credit than it deserves. Mob violence is cowardly and the fact that this mob was as chicken-livered as possible is amply demonstrated by the speed with which it dispersed when faced with bottle and stone throwing Japanese screaming 'Banzai!' To credit the mob with the capability of murder is also to inflate the success of the hypocrites from the elite of British Columbian society that incited them.

To me the importance of the Vancouver riots lies in its illustration of the way in which such hypocritical elites would use the ignorance (*sic*) of those they considered equally sub-human, the working class, to try to freeze British Columbian society in the mold that would best serve their inter-

ests, in the same way that the ruling party in South Africa is attempting to freeze South African society through apartheid and police state measures. The fact that they failed, although it took fifty years to defeat them, and that Canada is not a society like South Africa is a monument to Asian Canadians and to those Canadians who failed to be taken in by the hypocrites. The Vancouver riots are a dark mark on Canadian history, but the fact that such events did not defeat Asians is an illustration of the strength of the Asian immigrants and their determination to make Canada their home.

Asian Canadian history has more than its share of black marks, and it serves no purpose to make them blacker. In fact, accuracy, in all its vibrant hues, is the best weapon historians have to remind Canadians that their society has failed at times and that they have to work at it to make it work.

M. Ann Sunahara
Edmonton, Alberta

The Editors:

I was very interested in a statement in the article "The Chinese Community in Canada". On p. 15 you refer to "the anti-Asian movement culminating in the 1907 massacre in Vancouver.....". I have found references to injuries and property damage but have seen no other reports of loss of life. Since I am currently writing a history of Vancouver I would be grateful if you could tell me the source of information about a 'massacre' since I too would like to set the record straight.

Patricia E. Roy
University of Victoria
Victoria, B.C.

LIFETIME OF MACLEANS

The Editors:

The fact that such a magazine exists is very encouraging after a lifetime of being brought up on *Macleans*, *Saturday Night*, *Chatelaine*, etc.

The cover design is beautiful and the art work excellent.

Sylvia S. Jong
Toronto, Ontario

LETTERS

WELCOMED FORUM

The Editors:

I really enjoyed reading *The Asianadian* and particularly liked the etching on the cover. Your magazine should provide a welcomed forum for the exchange of political views.

Phyllis Bruce
Educational Editor
Van Nostrand Reinhold
Scarborough, Ontario

ENCOURAGING

Dear Fellow Asianadians:

Congratulations! Your magazine has been very encouraging to us who have been involved in the Chinese and Japanese communities in Vancouver.

Sean Gunn
Inalienable Rice
Vancouver, B.C.

CANADIAN APPROACH

The Editors:

At last, a Canadian approach to Asian cultures.

Lloyd Jones
Thunder Bay, Ontario

SERIOUS, VERY READABLE

The Editors:

Congratulations on your new journal. It is solid, serious, and very readable.

Meyer Weinberg
Editor
Integratededucation
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

CHALLENGING PERSPECTIVES

The Editors:

In your first issue, I was especially interested in the poetry section. The selections were well chosen and reflected the Asian Canadian experience from fresh and challenging perspectives. I'm looking forward to more of this in the future.

Keith Maddock
Toronto, Ontario

RELEVANT AND SENSITIVE

The Editors:

I was pleased to read a copy of *The Asianadian*, especially as it appears to be a magazine which will be relevant and sensitive to the needs of the visible minorities in Canada.

S.A. Saidullah
Toronto, Ontario

Urgent...

YOUR HELP IS WANTED IN
THE PROMOTION OF THE
ASIANADIAN STOP IT IS
ONE VALUABLE WAY TO
SPREAD CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS
AND INSURE CONTINUED SUCCESS
IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
A MORE JUST COMMUNITY
STOP IF YOU ARE WILLING
TO HELP PLEASE SEND YOUR
CONTRIBUTION TO THE ASIAN-
ADIAN P O BOX 1256 STATION
Q TORONTO ONTARIO M4T 2P4
CANADA STOP
THANK YOU

Canadian Ethnic Studies Etudes Ethniques du Canada

An interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, immigration, inter-group relations and the cultural life of ethnic groups in Canada.

Une revue interdisciplinaire consacrée à l'étude de l'ethnicité, l'immigration, les relations entre les groupes ethniques, et la vie culturelle au Canada.

Special Issues now in preparation/Numéros spéciaux en préparation:

**Ethnic Minorities and the New Quebec
Ethnic Radicalism, Donald Wilson, Jorgen Dahlie
Educational Foundations, U.B.C.**

Subscription rates/Frais d'abonnement:	One year/Un an
Individuals/Particuliers:	\$15.00
Students/Etudiants:	10.00
Institutions/Institutions:	20.00

Above rates also include a quarterly newsletter and membership in Canadian Ethnic Studies Association.

Les frais d'abonnement donnent droit aussi à un bulletin trimestriel et au titre de membre dans la Société canadienne d'études ethniques.

\$5.00 for individual issues/pour un seul numéro.

Order from/Demande d'abonnement:—

Canadian Ethnic Studies,
The University of Calgary,
2920 - 24th Avenue N.W.
Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

*The Ascanadian: An Asian
Canadian Magazine*
P.O. Box 1256
Station Q
Toronto, Ontario M4T 2P4
Canada